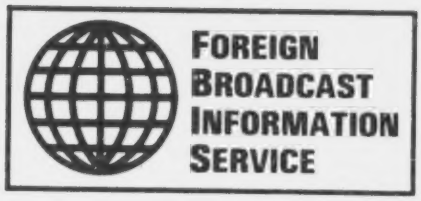

Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-129
Friday
7 July 1989

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-89-129 *7 July 1989*

CONTENTS

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Last Pershing-1A Missile Destroyed in U.S. *[TASS]* 1
Urgent Need for Comprehensive Test Ban Stressed *[Korionov in PRAVDA 2 Jul]* 1

COMMUNIST RELATIONS

Warsaw Pact Meeting in Bucharest Reported 2
Gorbachev, Others Arrive in Romania *[Moscow TV]* 2
Pact Meeting Opens 7 Jul *[TASS]* 2

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Gremitskikh Conducts News Briefing 6 Jul 3
TASS Summarizes News Briefing 3
Bartholomew's Statement on Trade Viewed *[TASS]* 3
North Atlantic Assembly Group Goes to Leningrad *[TASS]* 3
Primakov, Council of Europe Delegation Meet *[IZVESTIYA 1 Jul]* 4
Razumovskiy Receives World Labor Delegation *[TASS]* 4
Further Cooperation Between EEC, CEMA Urged *[Balebanov on TASS]* 5

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

Bush Remarks on Gorbachev Arms Cut Proposal Cited *[TASS]* 6
Secretary Baker's Asian Tour Previewed *[TASS]* 6
Shchedrov Views U.S. Asian Policy *[Moscow International]* 7
Asian-Pacific Security Discussed in Washington *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jun]* 7
U.S. Sovietologists Confer on 'New Thinking' *[Moscow TV]* 7
Primakov, Gusev Attend U.S. Embassy Function *[PRAVDA 5 Jul]* 8
Soviet, U.S. Navies To Exchange Visits *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Jun]* 8
Naval Group Leaves for U.S. *[TASS]* 8
U.S. Successfully Tests 'Minuteman' Missile *[TASS]* 8
Black Sea Experiment Scientists Hail Results *[TASS]* 9
Bessmertnykh Receives Canadian Official *[IZVESTIYA 30 Jun]* 9

China

Bush's Stance on China Sanctions Examined *[IZVESTIYA 6 Jul]* 9
Japan, UK Avoid Trade Sanctions *[IZVESTIYA 24 Jun]* 10
Protest Held at PRC Embassy in Moscow *[Moscow International]* 10
PRC 'Anti-Corruption Campaign' Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 6 Jul]* 10

Northeast Asia

Nikonov, Delegation Visit Mongolia 11
Delegation Arrives 3 Jul *[TASS]* 11
Batmonh Receives Delegation *[Moscow Radio]* 12
Nikonov Places Wreath, Visits Factory *[Moscow TV]* 12
Nikonov Meets With Workers *[TASS]* 12
Addresses Mongolian Officials *[TASS]* 13
Nikonov-Batmonh Meeting Reported *[PRAVDA 5 Jul]* 13
Latyshev Comments on Japanese-U.S. Talks *[PRAVDA 30 Jun]* 14

U.S.-Japanese 'Inconsistency' on PRC Viewed *[Moscow International]* 14
Nikonov-Led CPSU Delegation Visits DPRK *[PRAVDA 1 Jul]* 15

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Observer Hopes for Resolution by ASEAN Meeting *[Alekseyev on Moscow International]* 15
Comparison of Shevardnadze's ASEAN Message *[PRAVDA 5 Jul]* 16
Cambodian Party Delegation Visits *[PRAVDA 27 Jun]* 16
Rogachev Meets With Cambodian Envoy *[IZVESTIYA 5 Jul]* 16

Near East & South Asia

Prokofyev Comments on Likud Resolution *[Moscow Radio Peace and Progress]* 16
Iranian Presidential Elections Viewed *[Batev on Moscow International]* 17
Iranian Envoy Discusses Soviet Ties *[Moscow International]* 18
Coup in Sudan Reported; Premier Under Arrest *[PRAVDA 2 Jul]* 19
New Leader Outlines Basic Policies *[PRAVDA 4 Jul]* 19
South Yemen Delegation Visits USSR 18-25 Jun *[PRAVDA 27 Jun]* 20

Sub-Saharan Africa

Roundtable Discussion Held on Africa Policy *[TASS]* 20
Ethiopia Coup, Internal Disputes Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 21 Jun]* 20

East Europe

Berlin Daily Cited on Gorbachev-Honecker Talks *[PRAVDA 4 Jul]* 22
ADN Cited on Lushev-Kessler Talks *[TASS]* 22
PZPR Debates Presidential Candidates, Opposition *[PRAVDA 2 Jul]* 23
Jaruzelski Polish Journal Interview Cited *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 30 Jun]* 23
Polish Workers Party Secretary on Elections *[PRAVDA 28 Jun]* 24
Polish Communist Party Deputies Discuss Sejm Tasks *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 25 Jun]* 24
IZVESTIYA on Polish Postelection Scene *[23 Jun]* 25
Hungary's Beck, in Moscow, Speaks on Accounting *[Budapest MTI]* 26
Hungarian Worker's Party Decisions Noted *[IZVESTIYA 27 Jun]* 26
PRAVDA on Hungary's Workers Party Resolution *[27 Jun]* 27
Chebrikov Receives Romania's Ceausescu *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Jul]* 28
Zaykov Receives Bucharest Party Official *[PRAVDA 29 Jun]* 28

West Europe

Gorbachev Addresses Council of Europe in Strasbourg 28
Arrives in Strasbourg 6 Jul *[TASS]* 28
Speech to Council of Europe *[Moscow TV]* 29
Receives Award at Luncheon *[Moscow TV]* 34
Further on Gorbachev's Visit to France 4-6 Jul 35
Mitterrand, Gorbachev Interviewed *[Paris TV]* 35
Gorbachev Answers Questions at Sorbonne *[Moscow TV]* 37
Gorbachev Receives Sorbonne Medal *[Moscow TV]* 40
More on Gorbachev-Marchais Meeting *[PRAVDA 6 Jul]* 41
Marchais Comments on Gorbachev Meeting *[Moscow TV]* 41
Mitterrand-Gorbachev 'Farewell' Talks *[TASS]* 42
Gorbachev Interviewed on Impressions *[Moscow TV]* 42
Gorbachev Departs for Bucharest *[TASS]* 43
Shevardnadze Urges Mideast Conference *[Jerusalem Radio]* 43
Shevardnadze, Dumas View Talks *[PRAVDA 6 Jul]* 43
Yakovlev, Socialist Party's Mauroy Meet *[TASS]* 44
Yakovlev Interviewed on Paris Visit *[Moscow TV]* 44
Yakovlev on Sorbonne Speech, Accords *[IZVESTIYA 7 Jul]* 45
Specifics on Soviet-French Agreements Provided *[PRAVDA 6 Jul]* 47
More on Economic-Trade Talks *[PRAVDA 6 Jul]* 49

TASS Interviews Chirac on Gorbachev Visit 49
Correspondent Says French Welcome Gorbachev Visit *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 6 Jul]* 49
USSR, France Sign Document on MiG-29 Investigation *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 18 Jun]* 50
News Conference Held on Plane Crash in Belgium 51
General Shaposhnikov Briefs Media *[Moscow Radio]* 51
MiG Pilot Speaks on Incident *[TASS]* 52
Ryzhkov Meets With Turkish Finance Minister *[TASS]* 52

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban General Admits to Corruption Charges in Court *[PRAVDA 27 Jun]* 53
Ochoa, Torralba Expelled From Party *[PRAVDA 1 Jul]* 53
Envoy to Peru Protests Bomb Incident *[TASS]* 53

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet 6 Jul Session Reported 54
Deputies' Discussion 'Stormy' *[Moscow Radio]* 54
Deputies Discuss Lemayev Nomination *[Moscow Radio]* 55
Ryzhkov Addresses Session *[Moscow Radio]* 55
USSR Supreme Court Elected *[Moscow Radio]* 57
More on Supreme Court Elections *[TASS]* 57
Supreme Soviet 7 Jul Proceedings Reported 58
Deputies To Consider More Nominations *[TASS]* 58
Deputies Discuss Procuracy Personnel *[Moscow Radio]* 58
'Thousands' View Gromyko's Body in Moscow *[Moscow TV]* 58
Glacier Threatens Pamir Mountain Region *[Moscow International]* 59
Ryzhkov Discusses Decision on Gas Exports *[Moscow Radio]* 59
Nikonov Speaks at Far Eastern Fishing Conference *[Vladivostok Maritime Radio]* 59
More on Remarks in Vladivostok *[Moscow TV]* 60
3 July Supreme Soviet Session Reported 60
Mostovoy Takes Floor *[Moscow Radio]* 60
Mostovoy Elected *[Moscow Radio]* 61
Yazov Answers Questions *[Moscow Radio]* 62
Yazov Candidacy Discussed *[Moscow Radio]* 62
Deputies Speak For, Against Yazov *[Moscow Radio]* 63
Pavlov Responds to Queries *[Moscow Radio]* 64
Pavlov Elected; Ryabev Queried *[Moscow Radio]* 65
Ryabev Post Confirmed *[Moscow Radio]* 66
Supreme Soviet 4 Jul Proceedings Outlined 66
Silayev Answers Deputies' Questions *[Moscow Radio]* 66
Silayev Approved by Deputies *[Moscow Radio]* 67
Kamentsev's Candidacy Rejected *[Moscow Radio]* 68
Systsov Approved as Aviation Minister *[Moscow Radio]* 68
Pugin, Konovalov Voted Ministers *[Moscow Radio]* 69
Katushev Elected Minister *[Moscow Radio]* 70
Gabrielyants Voted Geology Minister *[Moscow Radio]* 71
Volkov Elected Civil Aviation Minister *[Moscow Radio]* 71
Supreme Soviet Commissions on Candidates 23 Jun *[Moscow Radio]* 72
Biryukova Recommended 'After Long Debate' *[IZVESTIYA 22 Jun]* 72
Finance Minister-Designate Interviewed 23 Jun *[Moscow TV]* 73
Discharged Geology Minister Interviewed *[TRUD 23 Jun]* 73
Slyunkov Discusses Merger of Ministries *[Moscow TV]* 75
Primakov Explains Government Formation Process *[PRAVDA 29 Jun]* 76
Lukyanov Previews Supreme Soviet Session 23 Jun *[Moscow TV]* 77
Lukyanov Praises Work of Congress 23 Jun *[TASS]* 77
Shcherbitskiy at Kiev Party Komsomol Meeting *[Moscow Radio]* 78
Discusses Congress at Meeting *[Moscow Radio]* 78
V. Medvedev Denies Gorbachev Ouster Attempted *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 25]* 78

Weekly Publishes Poll of People's Deputies *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA 21 Jun]* 80
Vorotnikov Chairs RSFSR Supreme Soviet *[Moscow Radio]* 82
Leningrad's Two Fronts in Congress Viewed *[TRUD 24 Jun]* 82
PRAVDA Reports on Kazakh Leader Replacement *[23 Jun]* 84
Kazakh Interior Minister Speaks on Unrest *[Moscow Radio]* 84
Chebrikov, Nazarbayev Visit Kazakh Enterprise *[Moscow TV]* 85
Complexity of ESSR Language Issues Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 22 Jun]* 85
Estonian Green, Center Parties Made Official *[Helsinki Radio]* 87
Latvian Groups Hold Commemorative Meeting *[Riga International]* 88
Further on New Uzbek Party First Secretary *[TASS]* 88
Lithuanian Central Committee Plenum Held 24 Jun *[TASS]* 88
Role of Lawyers' Union Described in Interview *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 20 Jun]* 88
Gorbachev Attends Bolshoy Theater Ceremony *[Moscow TV]* 89
Yeltsin Book To Be Published in New York *[Moscow TV]* 89

Economic

Need To Combat USSR Monopolies Argued *[PRAVDA 29 Jun]* 89
Temporary Import Licensing Introduced *[IZVESTIYA 29 Jun]* 91
Ministry Abolition, Fate of Plants Viewed *[TRUD 21 Jun]* 92
Co-op Association Supports Restructuring *[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 23 Jun]* 94
New Economic Reform Commission Examined
[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA 24 Jun] 96

Agricultural

Official Explains Foreign Grain Purchases *[PRAVDA 23 Jun]* 97
Poor Fuel Distribution Affects Harvest *[PRAVDA 4 Jul]* 100

Scientific

'Gorizont' Communications Satellite Launched 6 Jul *[TASS]* 101
'Mir' Orbiter Continues Scientific Experiments *[TASS]* 101

Military

Investigation of Submarine Incident Continues 101
Recovery Mission, Medical Exams Discussed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 2 Jul]* 101
Sub Officer on Radiation Checks *[Moscow Radio]* 102
Arms Procurement Procedures Questioned *[PRAVDA 28 Jun]* 103
NOVOSTI Extols New Soviet SU-27 Fighter *[Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI 28 Jun]* 104

Last Pershing-1A Missile Destroyed in U.S.
LD0607230289 Moscow TASS in English 2119 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] New York July 7 TASS—The U.S. Army destroyed on Thursday [6 July] the last Pershing-1A ballistic missile from its arsenal. A whole type of nuclear armaments was for the first time fully destroyed in U.S. history. This step has been taken in accordance with the Soviet-American agreement on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles signed in 1987.

The Pershing-1A missile was destroyed in the presence of a group of ten Soviet inspectors at the Longhorn ammunition plant of the Army near the city of Marshall, Texas. The missile was destroyed by the method of static burning of fuel with the subsequent destruction of the casing. This was the 169th and last missile of this modification to be destroyed. Besides that hundreds of Pershing-2 missiles and land-based cruise missiles of a greater yield are being eliminated in the framework of the treaty. Similar arms systems are being destroyed in the USSR.

Urgent Need for Comprehensive Test Ban Stressed
PM0607130789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov commentary under the rubric "Viewpoint": "An Old Tune"]

[Text] In the United States a report compiled within the walls of the Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies in Washington has been published. Its title is "The Future of U.S.-USSR Relations." The authors of the report include such well-known U.S. politicians as former Secretaries of State C. Vance and E. Muskie; former Secretaries of Defense M. Laird, H. Brown, and J. Schlesinger; former U.S. Ambassador to the USSR A. Hartman; and former Director of the CIA R. Helms.

The report acknowledges: The unilateral steps which are being implemented by the Soviet Union in the sphere of arms and armed forces reduction "have created conditions for the transformation of U.S.-Soviet relations into relations that are less dangerous, based to a higher degree on cooperation, and more stable." However, the authors of the report warn: "A disruption or a long adjournment of the talks on strategic offensive arms inspired, or looking as if it had been inspired, by the United States would put in jeopardy...relations with the Soviet Union at the beginning of a new administration and could also seriously damage the unity of the alliance (meaning NATO).

The aforementioned report is further evidence of the paramount importance which farsighted U.S. political circles attach to the consolidation of the positive shifts which have marked the development of Soviet-U.S. relations in recent years. A sensible realistic approach does indeed require both sides' political goodwill and mutual determination to eliminate the obstacles which do arise in the course of the talks on specific questions.

In this context not just the Geneva Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms, but also the fourth round of full-scale talks between the USSR and the United States on the limitation and banning of nuclear tests which also opened there a few days ago, are attracting attention.

As is rightly noted in the recently published declaration of the leaders of six countries from four continents, the conclusion of a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty which would be observed by all states is now a more urgent task than ever before.

The USSR's stance on this question is clear. The Soviet Union is ready to tackle this pressing task on a multilateral or a bilateral basis. The USSR sees one of the possible ways of achieving this objective in extending the 1963 Moscow Treaty on Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space, and Under Water to underground nuclear tests.

Allow me to recall that almost 4 years ago the USSR declared a unilateral moratorium on its nuclear tests which was in operation for just under 19 months having been repeatedly extended. As is known, this initiative did not meet with understandig from Washington. The rejection was motivated by a thesis which is not distinguished for its novelty: Nuclear tests are needed to safeguard U.S. security.

Nonetheless, conditions for a shift also in this sphere have slowly taken shape. During the break between the 3d and 4th round both sides have been rehearsing at testing grounds in the USSR and the United States methods to verify the yield of underground nuclear explosions. It has been convincingly proved that the verification measures elaborated by specialists are effective.

A White House statement published 26 June noted: "A great deal has already been achieved at the talks, and we will further develop the progress that has been achieved." However, the statement went on to say: "During the past 40 years powerful nuclear means of deterrence have served as the foundation of our security and freedom. As long as we need to rely on nuclear weapons, we must continue tests to guarantee the safety, reliability, effectiveness, and viability of these weapons." As if to bear this out, a few days before the White House statement another nuclear explosion rang out in the United States.

So, is it the same old tune again? Is it still not obvious that what should be discussed is not nuclear deterrence but the creation of an atmosphere which would make the mention of nuclear deterrence redundant, and that is something that can be achieved only through the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Warsaw Pact Meeting in Bucharest Reported

Gorbachev, Others Arrive in Romania

LD0607232189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 6 July in its "Vremya" newscast broadcasts a video report from Bucharest correspondent V. Korzin. Korzin states that: "Tomorrow a regular meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact member states will be opening in Bucharest." Korzin reports that Gorbachev's aircraft has just landed at Bucharest airport. The correspondent goes on to say that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev "will head our country's delegation at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee." He reports Gorbachev's arrival: "At the aircraft stairs he was warmly welcomed by Nicolae Ceausescu. The Soviet delegation includes Comrades Ryzhkov and Yazov. They flew to Bucharest today from Moscow and greeted Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev here on Romanian soil. Comrades Shevardnadze and Yakovlev, members of the delegation, have arrived here by air from France together with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev."

Video pictures show Gorbachev and Raisa descending aircraft steps, Gorbachev being greeted by Ceausescu, Gorbachev turning to Ryzhkov and Yazov and shaking hands with Ryzhkov, and a view of Shevardnadze and Yakovlev walking through the throng just behind Gorbachev.

Pact Meeting Opens 7 Jul

LD0707073189 Moscow TASS in English 0716 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Bucharest July 7 TASS—A regular meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee opened here today.

It is being attended by a Bulgarian delegation led by Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and president of the State Council of Bulgaria, a Hungarian delegation led by Rezso Nyers, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, a GDR delegation led by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and president of the GDR State Council, a Polish delegation led by Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and president of the State Council of Poland, a Romanian delegation led by Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania, a Soviet delegation led by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and a Czechoslovak delegation led by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

Army General Petr Lushev, commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Treaty Allied Armed Forces, and Constantin Oancea, secretary general of the political consultative committee, deputy foreign minister of Romania, are also taking part in the meeting.

The meeting was opened by Nicolae Ceausescu who made a short welcoming speech.

During the two-day meeting delegations of the allied countries will discuss topical European and world problems, as well as tasks connected witha further development and upgrading of cooperation of socialist countries in conditions of new realities taking shape in Europe and the world.

Participants in the meeting will focus their attention on the consolidation of European and universal security, primarily on further measures to be taken for eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons and for substantially reducing armed forces and armaments, including naval forces, as well as military spendings.

Gremitskikh Conducts News Briefing 6 Jul

TASS Summarizes News Briefing

LD0607211589 Moscow TASS in English 2049 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—The statement by Colonel Nikolay Skurigin whose MiG-23M crashed in Belgium, claimed attention of all journalists present at today's briefing in the press centre of the USSR Foreign Ministry. "If I had known that the jet's flight would result in the tragedy, the death of a Belgian young man, I would have never left the plane," said the pilot who was forced to bail out due to malfunction in the fighter's engine.

The Soviet Union welcomes the commitment of ASEAN member states to the idea of establishment of a nuclear-free zone in South-East Asia, said Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, at the briefing. This commitment was expressed at a conference of ASEAN foreign ministers which ended in Brunei.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman called journalists' attention to a terrorist act committed in the Peruvian port of Callao. Unidentified people detonated a bomb planted under a bus carrying Soviet crew members from the fishing trawlers Kurasov and Lazurniy. As a result, 16 Soviet seamen were injured. All the wounded received medical aid. The Soviet ambassador to Peru made a representation to the Peruvian Foreign Ministry.

Commenting on pronouncements by U.S. under-secretary of state Reginald Bartholomew published in West European press that the United States does not intend to fling open the gate for trade in strategic goods and for the transfer of technology, especially when this concerns the Soviet Union, the Foreign Ministry spokesman noted: "One gets an impression that some quarters in the United States still consider the dynamic development of all-round East-West cooperation and construction of a 'common European home' as a threat".

Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy held in Moscow on Monday [3 July] consultations on the preparation for the 44th session of the U.N. General Assembly with Crispin Tickell, British permanent representative to the U.N., and Duncan Slater, assistant under-secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, Gremitskikh pointed out. The sides also discussed cooperation of states in controlling international terrorism.

Gremitskikh called "a figment of imagination" a report by the Greek magazine ECONOMIKOS TACHYDROMOS on an alleged understanding between the Soviet Union and the Turkish-Cypriot leadership about a settlement of Soviet Maskhetian Turks in northern Cyprus. This question has not been raised either by Turkish-Cypriot leader Rauf Denktas or the Soviet side, he said. All Soviet Maskhetian Turks are being settled in the USSR.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman told pressmen that the office of the Korean Trade Promotion Corporation (South Korea) will open tomorrow at expocenter on the Krasnopresnenskaya embankment in Moscow, as will the exhibition "Korean Republic Week".

Bartholomew's Statement on Trade Viewed

LD0607191289 Moscow TASS in English 1829 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—The unwillingness to have normal trade relations with socialist countries is discordant with the world's increasing economic interdependence, First Deputy Head of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate Yuriy Gremitskikh said at a briefing here today commenting on a statement of U.S. Under Secretary of State Reginald Bartholomew, published by Western European press, that the United States would not trade with strategic goods and hand over its technology to other countries, especially the Soviet Union.

It seems that some U.S. circles are still regarding as dangerous the dynamic development of an all-round East-West cooperation and the process of building a common European home. He emphasised that the Soviet Union wanted to integrate its economy with the world economic system and that this objective process was supported by sober-minded political leaders and businessmen in Western countries, including the United States.

Artificial obstacles to trade and economic exchanges will affect negatively not only the Soviet Union but the entire world economic complex, the Soviet Union ministry spokesman said. These obstacles make it impossible to use the advantages of the natural division of labour and search for a joint solution to problems challenging the world community.

North Atlantic Assembly Group Goes to Leningrad

LD0607194189 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Leningrad July 6 TASS—A delegation of the North Atlantic Assembly [NAA], currently on visit in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, arrived late on Wednesday [5 July] in Leningrad, the country's major center of industry, science and culture, and visited today the Leningrad Council of the People's Deputies. Welcoming the guests, Vladimir Khodyrev, chairman of the Executive Committee, said that perestroika reforms of Soviet society and the economy has also been extended to the field of foreign economic activity. Leningrad has been granted the right to select business partners on its own. A special foreign economic directorate was set up at the City Executive Council which has helped to launch into operation 38 joint ventures involving foreign firms and to sign more than 300 protocols of intentions.

Chairman of the North Atlantic Assembly who heads the delegation said, "We shall seek back home to promote trade and economic contacts with your country. While here each of us is trying to learn as much as possible about the changes underway in your country and we find such encounters most beneficial."

The delegation visited the naval academy, the country's oldest naval officer training educational establishment. The parliamentarians got acquainted with the academy's history and the training process. They also made a tour of the museum of the Navy.

At the Piskaryovskoye memorial cemetery the parliamentarians paid homage to more than 500,000 civilians and soldiers fallen during the Second World War. A wreath was laid down at the monument symbolizing motherland.

Primakov, Council of Europe Delegation Meet
PM0607144989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Meeting With Parliamentarians"]

[Text] On 29 June Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, met with a delegation of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly [CEPA] headed by its chairman A. Bjoerk.

In an unconstrained, well-intentioned conversation the sides examined diverse aspects of cooperation between the country's top organ of legislative power and CEPA on a broad range of questions and discussed ways to build a common European home. They noted the mutual wish to stabilize the international situation and to create the necessary structures which would help to establish a lasting and secure peace on the continent.

The interlocutors advocated the development of comprehensive contacts between Soviet and West European parliamentarians in the interests of deepening multifaceted international cooperation in Europe.

At a press conference which took place on the same day A. Bjoerk called the talks in Moscow "specific and constructive." The CEPA leader stated that the dialogue which had begun with the USSR Supreme Soviet was "unique and historic." It was stressed that the forthcoming speech by M.S. Gorbachev next week in Strasbourg is awaited with great interest and will help to build the common European home whose foundation has already been laid.

A. Bjoerk noted that attention was focused on questions of developing cooperation in the sphere of human rights, environmental protection, culture, and the struggle against international terrorism.

The CEPA chairman recalled that recently the decision had been made to grant the USSR, Hungary, Poland, and Yugoslavia special status as guests of the Parliamentary Assembly. In the future, he said, they will examine the question of granting this status to other European socialist countries. The choice of these four states in particular is explained by the democratization processes taking place there which, in CEPA's opinion, are irreversible. Talks are also being held on opening a USSR consulate general in Strasbourg, where the Parliamentary Assembly is located.

USSR Deputy Foreign Minister V.F. Petrovskiy received the CEPA delegation headed by its chairman A. Bjoerk.

Razumovskiy Receives World Labor Delegation
LD0507120189 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 4 TASS—A delegation of the leadership of the World Confederation of Labour (WCL) was received today by Georgy Razumovskiy, alternate member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee. The delegation is led by WCL president Juan Tan and secretary-general Jan Kulakowski.

The secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee spoke about perestroika and revolutionary renewal of Soviet society, about specific features of the present stage of transformations and dwelt on the results of the work of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies and its fundamental political decisions which laid down the foundations of a new, democratic state mechanism. He noted the increased role of public organisations, including that of the Soviet trade unions, their special responsibility in the development of glasnost and democracy, in the protection of the interests of the working people.

Razumovskiy called the attention of the guests to the decree "On Fundamental Directions of the Domestic and Foreign Policy of the USSR" adopted by the Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the congress's address to the peoples of the world—the documents which essentially express the countrywide consensus with regard to the foreign policy course of the party and state, consistenuly set out the principles of new political thinking which is an objective need in the age of the threatening accumulation of global problems.

The guests showed much interest in the home and foreign policy of the Soviet Communist Party and the processes now taking place in the USSR. The leaders of the World Confederation of Labour expressed the confederation's views on the problems of world development and summed up the main tendencies of its activity.

Further Cooperation Between EEC, CEMA Urged

LD0107133489 Moscow TASS in English 1509 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 30 TASS—By TASS political news analyst Albert Balebanov:

Over 12 months have passed since a joint declaration of the CMEA and the EEC on mutual recognition and the principles of the development of relations was signed in Luxembourg. That event reflected the vital need of the two organisations and the countries participating in them to adapt to new conditions of the growing interdependence in the world today, to embark on the implementation of the idea of a common European home. The advance of the CMEA and the EEC to contacts coincided with the overall warming of the international climate, the improvement of East-West relations. In this context it is difficult to understand some actions of the EEC which can hardly be regarded otherwise than an attempt to slow down the development of relations with the CMEA, despite firm promises of the Common Market to this effect.

Thus the commission of the European communities has not yet replied to the question about the level and scope of its activity at an international conference on matters of economic cooperation between the CMEA and the EEC planned to be held in Moscow in October. It seems strange that member of the Commission of the European Communities Frans Andriessen in charge of matters of external ties and trade policy of the EEC, refuses to take if only a token part in the conference.

Meanwhile the conference planned to be held in Moscow is the first such conference held by the CMEA Secretariat. As is known, representatives of the CMEA leadership invariably took part in similar forums held under the EEC auspices for they view such forums as an opportunity to broaden the dialogue between the two organisations and give an impetus to the development of various forms of bilateral relations. It seems strange, to say the least, that the Commission of the European Communities has such a cool attitude to a conference which sets the aims in the spirit of the times—to expand opportunities for East-West cooperation as a whole and between the CMEA and the EEC in particular, to inform the business circles and the public of West European countries about the untapped reserves for the development of mutually advantageous ties.

Besides that, as it became known, the CMEA Secretariat has not yet received an official confirmation of the EEC for arrangements in principle about the development of relations, reached by experts of the two organisations during their latest meeting in Moscow in April. Meanwhile, it was promised that such an answer will be given before the end of June.

In short, there are many mysteries in the conduct of the leaders of the Commission of the European Communities with regard to CMEA. May be this is connected with the fact that the EEC views the joint Luxembourg declaration of the CMEA-EEC only as a pretext for establishing commercial and economic relations with separate partners in the CMEA, while relegating to oblivion the obligation to develop simultaneously relations with the CMEA as an organisation. Such a possibility cannot be ruled out. Though, frankly speaking, one would like to believe, that just as a year ago, the intentions of the EEC with regard to CMEA remain sincere and are in keeping with the principles of the obligations assumed.

United States & Canada

Bush Remarks on Gorbachev Arms Cut Proposal Cited

LD0707103789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0910 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Washington, 6 Jul (TASS)—During the course of a meeting with journalists in connection with his forthcoming trip to Poland, Hungary, and then Paris, where he will attend the celebrations to mark the French Revolution, and, as he said, "the 15th economic summit", President George Bush touched upon M.S. Gorbachev's proposal set out in his speech in Strasbourg.

Replying to a question as to what response the United States intends to give to "Mikhail Gorbachev's new call to start talks on the liquidation of short-range missiles in Europe", Bush said that "one should take a close look at what happened in Brussels, take into account NATO's position, and to proceed—and from the Soviet side there have been encouraging movements on this issue—to proceed with the existing agenda. This is precisely what the signal is, and I don't want to go off the track by opening up again the question of short-range nuclear arms at a time when we have a good package of proposals which enjoy broad support. The big thing about the decision adopted by NATO is to move forward in order to stick to our timetable and to do so in the perspective of justice. I must say that I was very pleased when Mr Gorbachev made the comment—I think it was in West Germany—that this timetable is not too ambitious.

Then came the following question: Who needs these tactical nuclear weapons and why is NATO afraid of adopting the Soviet proposal on unilateral reductions, taking into account the circumstance that in the period of these talks NATO will presumably be [word indistinct] just as before with its tactical capabilities in the expectation of reductions in conventional arms?

In reply, Bush only said that the United States "would welcome unilateral Soviet reductions."

Bush was also asked whether he is concerned about the situation in which Mikhail Gorbachev is more popular in Europe than the U.S. President. Replying to it, the head of the White House said that the issue of popularity does not bother him. "I am very glad," he said, "that Mr Gorbachev is popular in Europe. I am very glad that he has visited West Germany and France. Visits by him like this are a very good thing for peace throughout the world, and I hope that he will be pleased that I am going to Poland and Hungary. We should not regard relations between the East and West, or between the United States and the Soviet Union from the point of view of who is the most popular at the given moment. What is important is the way that we solve the important issues facing us, such as monitoring [kontrol] weapons, or economic revival, or freedom and democracy in Eastern Europe.

Secretary Baker's Asian Tour Previewed

LD0307102889 Moscow TASS in English 1119 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] Washington July 3 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Fedyashin:

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker sets out today on a 16-day Asian tour during which he will visit Tokyo, meet foreign ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in Brunei, and pay a short visit to Oman, after which he will head for Poland where he will join President Bush at the start of his European visit.

The Asian leg of the trip is viewed as the most important in his tour. A high-ranking administration official has confirmed that the U.S. now intends to enhance its policy in Asia-Pacific region in line with the current global changes.

Speaking to reporters on the eve of the trip, the official stated that the changes underway in the world set new tasks for the West not only in Europe but also in the countries of Asia, and that the trip's main objective was "to lay the foundations for the new order".

According to the administration spokesman, Washington aims to use Baker's visit and talks with ASEAN leaders to try and illustrate America's commitment to the region. It was pointed out, however, that the commitment was being modified, and the United States was seeking to show that it was trying to treat other nations as partners.

In Tokyo, Baker plans to have in-depth discussions on a gamut of issues of American-Japanese relations and try and untie the knot of trading disputes in order to start moving toward the "new global partnership", as well as to discuss the American-Japanese relationship in the context of universal security, taking into account not only military and strategic, but also trade and economic interests.

According to the administration spokesman, the United States now intends to help consolidate ASEAN's political authority, boost its role in deciding both regional and global political problems and promote its contribution to international relations. During the meeting in Brunei, Baker will seek to identify in conjunction with the ASEAN countries, trends of economic cooperation between the countries of the "Pacific Rim as the region is called in the United States. The visit is also intended to draw the attention of American people to the important role which ASEAN plays in world politics and the economy.

The spokesman acknowledged that Japan will remain central in America's Asian policies as its gigantic economic potential and political significance make it a major political figure not only on the Asian scene but in world politics as a whole.

Shchedrov Views U.S. Asian Policy

LD0107223589 Moscow World Service in English 1810 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Commentary written by Oleg Shchedrov and read by announcer]

[Text] Shortly before going on a tour of several Asian countries American Secretary of State James Baker addressed members of the Asian Society Research center and spelt out major principles of the United States policy in Asia. Oleg Shchedrov has this comment and this is what he writes:

The need for such a statement was hovering in the air, so to speak. The Bush administration included Asia and the Pacific region into one of its foreign policy priorities. Significantly, challenging with a tradition, the President made his first overseas trip not to Europe but to Asia, but as Washington's regional allies noted during that trip the President brought no clearly defined political line. This contrasted, in their opinion with the successful diplomatic offensive of Moscow, which came out with a whole compiex of practical initiatives.

So what is most striking about Baker's policymaking speech? First and foremost, the changed tone. The traditional talk about the Soviet military threat is reduced to a minimum. The emphasis is laid not on confrontation but on the solution of the pressing problems of the region. Baker calls, for instance, for establishing a new order in economic relations and for removing the hotbeds of tension by political means. This approach looks as a step in the direction of a constructive policy. The question is, however, how much it corresponds with Washington's real intentions. One can't help but notice Baker's remarks that the United States military presence in Asia is necessary as it has never been before.

There are other things worthy of notice. This is first of all the continuation of American military aid to the Afghan opposition and plans for giving such aid to noncommunist Khmer groupings. Among the old stereotypes there is the thesis about America's leadership in the region. Baker reaffirmed it in his speech at the Asian society. The problem lies not in the fact that this thesis does not tally with the real state of affairs but that it serves as a permanent source of confrontational thinking. Regional observers stress in this context the position of the Soviet Union for calling for an equitable dialogue for the sake of ensuring security and stability all over Asia.

The Soviet Union recognizes America's considerable interests in the region and their influence on the march of affairs in that part of the world, but the ambitious struggle for leadership can only thwart the plans requiring the partnership of all the sides concerned. And there is another aspect about Baker's latest speech: To what extent do the ideas expressed by him reflect the opinion of the American Administration as a whole?

Earlier, Vice President Dan Quayle took a much tougher stand on the same issues. Reports have appeared lately saying that the work has been completed over the Presidential report on the United States' policy in Asia and it is expected to make things more clear. However, it is not the words but the practical deeds that matter in the long run.

Asian-Pacific Security Discussed in Washington

PM3006104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] Scheduled Soviet-U.S. consultations on Asian and Pacific matters were held in Washington 27-28 June. In a frank, businesslike atmosphere they discussed questions concerned with reducing the level of military tension in the Asia-Pacific region and the prospects for collaboration between the two countries in settling a number of serious problems in this part of the world. The U.S. side welcomed the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations as a step leading to firmer peace and stability in Asia and the rest of the world.

Particular attention was devoted to the situation around Cambodia in light of current preparations for an international conference to resolve this regional conflict, and also the situation on the Korean peninsula.

The following took part in the consultations: On the Soviet side, I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, and Yu.V. Dubinin, Soviet ambassador to the United States; on the U.S. side, R. Kimmitt, first assistant secretary of state for political affairs; R. Solomon, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs; and leading officials from the National Security Council and Department of State.

U.S. Sovietologists Confer on 'New Thinking'

LD0307215189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 3 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by B. Kalyagin]

[Text] [Video shows U.S. street scenes followed by Bush addressing a news conference] [announcer] A meeting of American Sovietologists has been held in Washington on the topic of the new thinking and international security. The meeting analyzed certain problems and prospects for the United States' relations with the USSR.

[Kalyagin] Lively discussion is under way in U.S. political circles and in the pages of the U.S. press concerning how to build relations with the USSR. U.S. President Bush has spoken in favor of following a course which would envisage moving on beyond the bounds of the notorious policy of deterring the USSR, which has characterized relations between East and West for more than 40 years. This statement was received with satisfaction among the American public, yet local observers

draw attention to a certain slowing of the pace of development of the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. [video shows news article entitled "Bush's Losing Soviet Strategy," with photo of Gorbachev; another headlined "President Urges Caution in Dealing With the Soviets," cutting to Kalyagin on street]

Representatives of the present administration explain this in terms of a desire to look more deeply into what is happening in the USSR and to get, they say, additional evidence from our country of our good will. A fairly large number of people in Washington consider this approach to be entirely acceptable and useful for the United States.

However, the number of adherents of the other point of view is increasing. Quite a few Americans think that the United States is losing time and missing a real opportunity to achieve a considerable improvement in the international situation. This issue was discussed at a meeting of leading American Sovietologists who gathered in Washington in the Carnegie Conference Center. A number of those taking part in the debates are known for their conservative views in respect of the USSR, yet even this meeting recognized that the USSR has made impressive steps such as the unilateral reduction in its troops and arms in Europe. Is Washington not reacting to this too cautiously? [video shows conference in session, cutting to interview with G. Sonnenfeld, former official of the National Security Agency and the U.S. State Department, identified by caption]

[Sonnenfeld in English with superimposed Russian translation] I don't think so. We had a fairly long transition period but now the program of contacts is widening, the talks in Vienna and Geneva are under way, the group of representatives on regional problems is meeting, the ministers of foreign affairs have met. I think that on the whole the prospects for development of our relations are positive, but there is no need to overstate the speed at which these relations improve. There are many obstacles ahead and a great deal has to happen before we can talk about normal cooperation. But we are on the road to developing positive relations.

Primakov, Gusev Attend U.S. Embassy Function

PM0607151989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Announcements"]

[Text] J.F. Matlock, U.S. ambassador to the USSR, organized a reception 4 July to mark a national holiday—Independence Day.

The reception was attended by Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union; V.K. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other officials.

Soviet, U.S. Navies To Exchange Visits

18010730 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[Unsigned article: "Exchange of Official Visits".]

[Text] In accordance with an agreement, in July and August there will be an exchange of official visits of Soviet and U.S. Naval squadrons. The Soviet Naval squadron consisting of the guided missile cruiser "Marshall Ustinov," the destroyer "Otlichnyy," and the tanker "Genrikh Gasanov" will visit the port of Norfolk 21-25 July. The visit will be led by the First Deputy Commander of the North Fleet Vice-Admiral I.V. Kasatonov. The squadron of U.S. ships will make its official visit to the port of Sevastopol in the first half of August.

Naval Group Leaves for U.S.

LD0107123289 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Murmansk June 30 TASS—By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Belousov:

A group of Soviet military ships left the main Northern Fleet base—Severomorsk—for the American coast today. The group consists of the "Marshal Ustinov" guided-missile cruiser, the "Otlichnyy" destroyer and the "Gasanov" tanker.

Soviet Navy men are now on a friendship voyage across the ocean. It was difficult even to imagine this only recently. The leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States have done a lot to improve the world situation and develop friendly contacts, including those between the military. The Soviet side is now supplementing its policy of friendship and good-neighbourly relations with this voyage of Soviet Northern Fleet military ships.

"Soviet military ships have moored in a United States port only once before. "Vice-Admiral Igor Kasatonov, the group's commander, said. "Navy men who visited the U.S. that time were from the Northern Fleet and worthy representatives of the Soviet Navy. We'll do our best to make this voyage a success that will help strengthen friendly relations with the American people. A group of Soviet journalists also takes part in the voyage," he said.

U.S. Successfully Tests 'Minuteman' Missile

LD0707084989 Moscow TASS in English 0706 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] New York July 7 TASS—A "Minuteman-3" intercontinental ballistic missile was tested in the United States on Thursday [6 July].

The missile, without a warhead, was launched from the U.S. military base in Vandenberg, California, covered about 7,000 kilometers in half an hour and hit a prearranged target on the Kwajalein Pacific Atoll where an American missile firing range is located.

The test was a success, according to a Pentagon spokesman. This was the 138th launch of a "Minuteman-3" missile which was adopted for service in 1972. All in all the United States has completed 476 tests of "Minuteman" missiles.

Black Sea Experiment Scientists Hail Results

LD0607203989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1247 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Yalta, 6 Jul (TASS)—Boris Zverev, special TASS correspondent, reports:

Dr Thomas Cochran, leader of the U.S. scientists group, described the joint Soviet-U.S. experiment on remote detection of sea-based nuclear weapons which was held on the Black Sea on Wednesday [5 July] as "an unqualified success." He spoke at a press conference here today which was devoted to the results of the joint work by Soviet and U.S. scientists.

The gist of the experiment boiled down to verifying the equipment and methods of detecting nuclear warheads on vessels, which has been developed by researchers from the two countries. Detectors attached to the body of the missile launchers and instruments deployed on a helicopter and onboard another vessel were used. Prior to that, methods of detection with the help of an onshore installation had been tried in Sebastopol. To make that work possible, the USSR Defense Ministry made available two vessels, including the "Slava" cruiser with a nuclear missile complex onboard, and two helicopters. Following the examination of the results, speakers at the press conference noted, both the Soviet and U.S. experts concurrently arrived at the conclusion that the methods and equipment developed were fit to be used as a means of monitoring sea-based nuclear weapons. The problem of monitoring this type of weapon is one of the complex issues facing the Geneva talks on reducing strategic offensive armaments in the USSR and the United States. Thomas Cochran pointed out that there were insufficient grounds to conclude that the work which had been conducted resolved all problems.

This view was also shared by Viktor Karpov, deputy USSR foreign affairs minister, who was present at the press conference. At the same time we consider it useful, as far as creating a comprehensive system verification is concerned, he said. We hope that further cooperation between the Soviet and U.S. scientists in this sphere will enable us to work out even more versatile methods to identify both nuclear warheads and their number. If the issue is a full ban on sea-based weapons, then this system will simply be necessary, the Soviet diplomat said.

U.S. Congressman John Spratt, who has arrived with a group of congressmen to observe the experiment, stressed that we should not stop at this achievement. The experiment that has been carried out does not prove that there is already a system for verifying the number and type of sea-based cruise missiles. Nevertheless it has been useful. This is the first step on the long path to working out a verification system which both sides will trust, said John Spratt.

The work that the two countries' scientists have started in Yalta will be continued tomorrow, as they discuss the facts that they have obtained at a scientific seminar at the Academy of Sciences in Moscow.

Bessmertnykh Receives Canadian Official

PM0707093189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general heading "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 27 June A.A. Bessmertnykh, USSR first deputy foreign minister, received Zh. Rua [name as transliterated], Canadian deputy foreign minister, who is heading the Canadian delegation to Soviet-Canadian political consultations.

China

Bush's Stance on China Sanctions Examined

PM0707094789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch under general heading: "Sanction Levers"]

[Text] Washington—Passenger airliners, communications satellites, and even bank cash dispensers will be barred from being sent from the United States to the PRC. That is the effect of the sanctions levied by U.S. President G. Bush following events on Tiananmen Square in Beijing.

Bush has suspended exchanges between U.S. and PRC military departments and shipments of U.S. military hardware to China. At the same time he opposed the more radical use of what THE NEW YORK TIMES described as "the most effective and long-term instrument of U.S. influence"—restrictions in the sphere of trade and capital investment. The administration attributed this policy to geostrategic considerations—reluctance to "alienate" China from the United States and irreversibly disrupt Chinese-U.S. mutual understanding. Moreover, it has emerged that the White House is trying to preserve cooperation with China in the most secret sphere—the sphere of intelligence data exchange. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, U.S. electronic listening posts in Iran were transferred to China after the revolution in Iran. The information obtained from these posts is used by both the PRC and the United States. Nine seismographic stations on PRC territory are

also used by both sides. According to THE WASHINGTON POST's information they were set up with the involvement of the U.S. geological service, but the finance came from the Pentagon.

The desire to preserve such useful ties is one of the factors promoting the White House's cautious approach to the restriction of trade with China. However, it has now been revealed that Bush's sanctions are much more substantial than the administration itself supposed. Two communications satellites costing $180 million, which are to be launched from Chinese cosmodromes, have been withheld. A ban on the export of various electronic components automatically prevents the export of equipment from China worth further hundreds of millions of dollars. At the same time the U.S. Congress House of Representatives has decided on an additional package of measures against China. The White House has at present refrained from supporting this package of sanctions. The administration is afraid that its adoption may provoke a sharp reaction in the PRC.

Japan, UK Avoid Trade Sanctions

PM0407092589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch followed by IZVESTIYA press service report under general heading "Cooperation Must Not Suffer"]

[Text] Beijing—When the troops began operations to implement martial law in some areas of Beijing, several International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD] missions were in China studying potential projects for the construction of which the bank was to have granted credits.

As is known, China has been a member of this specialized UN institution for 8 years and during the fiscal year which ends 30 June, it received a promise from the IBRD for loans totalling more than $2 billion. It is proposed that this sum be used for 18 different projects. For most of them the loans have been approved, while the others are still being studied.

Luo Qing, senior official in the PRC Ministry of Finance, who is dealing with cooperation with the IBRD: "There were rumors that the bank had closed its office in Beijing and had decided to freeze the granting of fresh loans after the Chinese government used troops to suppress the revolt. These rumors are groundless." Meanwhile the discussion of the possibility of a loan for an agricultural project in China has been postponed for some time. The discussion of finance for two other projects—one in the power engineering sphere, and another in the sphere of cadre training—has suffered the same fate. No new date has been set for the discussion of these projects. "It is quite understandable that the IBRD has decided to take time out over the approval of the new loans," Luo Qing believes. "Time is needed to understand the country's situation and to give an opinion."

In Luo Qing's opinion, the delay in the loans discussion is also connected with the political views of some IBRD members. In addition, a number of countries are putting pressure on the bank, because they do not agree with the Chinese Government's method of solving its internal problem.

A spokesman for the PRC Ministry of Finance expressed the hope that cooperation will not suffer for political motives. [end Savenkov dispatch.]

Although expressing "extreme regret" concerning the executions in Shanghai and Beijing, at the same time Japanese Prime Minister S. Uno stated to journalists that Tokyo does not intend to introduce any sanctions against China.

The premier's statement was broadcast on television, a REUTER correspondent reports. According to Uno, "Japan has always supported the reforms in China and its open-door policy."

British Prime Minister M. Thatcher ruled out the possibility of introducing trade sanctions against China. Answering questions put to her in Parliament, she said that such measures would cause a great deal of panic in Hong Kong. As is known, according to a joint 1984 declaration between Britain and the PRC, as of July 1997 Hong Kong will come under PRC sovereignty.

In response to an opposition proposal that backing be given to the condemnation of the Chinese leadership's actions against the students, she said that "this proposal may have dangerous consequences."

Protest Held at PRC Embassy in Moscow

LD0707073889 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 07 Jul 89

[Text] There has been a protest meeting in front of the building of the Chinese Embassy in Moscow, organized by the public organization memorial. Its participants criticized the actions of the Chinese authorities in suppressing the unrests that have taken place in that country. A statement approved at the meeting was handed over to an embassy official. In accordance with the existing practice permission was given to hold the meeting, though its slogans differ from the official assessment of events in China and that assessment was given in a statement by the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR and in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech during his visit to France. The official point of view is based on the belief that the events that have taken place is the internal affair of China.

PRC 'Anti-Corruption Campaign' Viewed

PM0707090589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Echo of Past Drama"]

[Text] Beijing—The alarming days which brought the Chinese capital barricades, burned-out automobiles, caterpillar tank tracks, skirmishes between soldiers and the

civilian population, wreathes for the dead, grief, and painful thoughts have passed....

A municipal government spokesman announced recently that Tiananmen Square and the adjacent parks will be open for organized parties, who are asked to cooperate in preserving order. Organizations and tourist groups wishing to visit the square must present lists to the headquarters of the troops enforcing martial law in the city.

At night blank shots can be heard in some places. This is the sound of soldiers firing into the air when people react slowly to an order to stop and show their documents. At a routine briefing foreign correspondents asked a PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman when it is intended to lift martial law in Beijing. There was no reply. At the same time it was announced that Tibet is once again open to tourists for the first time since martial law was introduced in Lhasa early this March. According to a travel agency spokesman, the situation there is stable and "tourists' safety is guaranteed."

The capital's hotels are gradually coming back to life, foreign businessmen are returning to Beijing, and they form a considerable percentage of the hotel guests. Almost one-half of the 600 foreign missions from various firms have resumed work.

Banners urging people to devote more attention to political work have appeared in the city. Beijing Radio announced that during the summer vacation all schoolchildren must study Deng Xiaoping's speech in which he assessed recent events and the CPC Central Committee June Plenum communique. When they begin classes again in the fall, an intensive political course awaits pupils in addition to their usual classes.

Another detail. The Chinese Government has decided to adopt a more careful approach to the selection of students who go abroad to study. A representative of the Education Committee announced that previously, when selecting candidates, attention was paid above all to their professional qualities and their knowledge of a foreign language, while their personal qualities and political views were disregarded at times. Students' degree of patriotism and desire to serve their country is the main criterion now.

Nowadays the press is devoting considerable coverage to the topic of party building, focusing attention on discipline. Jiang Zemin, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, recently assessed the situation in the following way: "The suppression of the recent counterrevolutionary rebellion confirmed the party's strength but revealed problems—and serious ones at that." In his view, former general secretary Zhao Ziyang neglected party building, which weakened the party's strength. Jiang Zemin urged party leaders at all levels to set an example in resolving problems of concern to the people in order to win their trust. Corruption was once again described as one of the main problems.

There is every sign that the struggle against corruption is assuming the form of a broad nationwide campaign. It is stressed that the struggle will proceed at all levels. A time limit has been set during which transgressors can confess. Party leaders and members of their families are obliged to suspend commercial activity banned under current regulations. Severe punishment awaits those leaders who have sent members of their families abroad in violation of regulations.

Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, stated recently that the people who organized and managed the disturbances and rebellion overtly or "behind the scenes," those who cooperated with anti-Chinese and antisocialist forces abroad, and those who are to blame for the slaughter, arson, and killing, will be severely punished. The attitude toward those students who took part in the demonstrations, sit-in strikes, and hunger strikes will be lenient as long as their statements and actions were extremist but did not contradict the Criminal Code.

The Chinese National People's Congress [NPC] Standing Committee sittings that are taking place these days in Beijing are enabling the situation within society and above all the process of democratization to be assessed to a certain degree. The concept of gradual and phased democratic development (society is not ready for a rapid pace at present), which was also put forward earlier, has now evidently assumed clearer contours. Noting the importance of improving socialist democracy and the legal system, Wan Li, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, focused his attention on the need to provide the population with regular instruction in these areas. Clarifying the draft law on rallies and demonstrations currently under discussion by the NPC Standing Committee, Wang Fang, minister of public security, pointed out that since China is in the initial stages of socialism and class struggle still exists, democracy can only develop in an organized form through juridical channels. The organizers of demonstrations, the draft says, must seek authorization from the public security department. The aims, slogans, number of participants, and the organizers' names, professions, and addresses must be given. Demonstrations involving people from various areas or various establishments are prohibited.

Observers drew attention to the fact that the draft law on the press was not submitted at the sitting; this is obviously connected with the need to assess the role of the press during the period of demonstrations, disturbances, and the introduction of martial law in Beijing.

Northeast Asia

Nikonov, Delegation Visit Mongolia

Delegation Arrives 3 Jul

LD0307141389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1245 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 3 Jul (TASS)—A CPSU delegation headed by V.P. Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in

Ulaanbaatar today for an official visit at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP].

During its stay in Mongolia, the delegation of Soviet party workers will be received by J. Batmonh, general secretary of MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural. Meetings are scheduled between the members of the CPSU delegation and other party and state leaders of the republic, as well as with officials in the central apparatus of the MPRP Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, and local party bodies. There will be an exchange of experience of the work of the party organizations of the CPSU and the MPRP at the present stage of the restructuring and renovation being carried out in the two fraternal countries, and the further development of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation will be discussed. The delegation will visit industrial and agricultural facilities built with the technical and economic assistance of the Soviet Union, and also agriculturally inclined scientific-production establishments.

At Buyant Uhaa airport the delegation was met by B. Dejid, member of the Politburo and secretary in the MPRP Central Committee, and by other officials. Among the welcoming party was V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador in the Mongolian People's Republic.

Batmonh Receives Delegation

LD0407121889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 4 Jul 89

[Text] Jambyn Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium, has received a CPSU delegation led by Comrade Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at Government House in Ulaanbaatar. The Soviet party workers have arrived here on an official visit at the invitation of the MPRP Central Committee. Questions concerning the further development of all-around cooperation between the two fraternal parties and countries were discussed. The delegation laid a wreath at the monument to Vladimir Ilich Lenin and the tomb of Subaatar and Choybalsan.

Nikonov Places Wreath, Visits Factory

LD0507165289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A CPSU Central Committee delegation led by Comrade Nikonov is on an official visit in Ulaanbaatar at the invitation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee.

[Begin Lordkipanidze recording] this year Mongolia will celebrate the 65th anniversary of the declaration of the People's Republic. A statue of Vladimir Ilich Lenin was erected on one of Ulaanbaatar's public squares soon after this declaration. Viktor Petrovich Nikonov laid a wreath at this statue. The inscription on the wreath's ribbon reads: to the great Lenin, from the CPSU leadership. A wreath was also laid on behalf of the CPSU at the burial vault of Sukhe Bator and Choybalsan, founders of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the Mongolian people's state. [video shows Nikonov and delegation at monuments with wreaths.]

In Ulaanbaatar today, Jambyn Batmonh, MPRP general secretary and chairman People's Great Hural Presidium, received the CPSU delegation at Government House. Viktor Nikonov, Jambyn Batmonh, and other Mongolian leaders discussed further developing fraternal cooperation between the CPSU and the MPRP and between the two countriess. Special stress was laid on the social tendency of cooperation for the good of the Mongolian and Soviet peoples. [video shows the leaders talking across a table.]

A 30km stretch of road leads from Ulaanbaatar to Songino, a city suburb, where the largest biological combine in Mongolia is located. Built with the assistance of the Hungarian People's Republic, the combine will celebrate its 15th anniversary this year. The combine's employees acquainted Viktor Petrovich Nikonov with the production process and described how the combine now produces about 70 types of preparations of a preventative, treatment, and diagnostic nature. Approximately one-fourth are exported, including to our country. [video shows Nikonov at combine and shots of producton processes.]

In the afternoon, Viktor Petrovich Nikonov visited a leather and speciality goods factory. The Soviet guest was told at the association about the close links with workers of the light industry in our country and about the prospects for the further development of these ties. Viktor Petrovich Nikonov also visited the Central Museum of Ulaanbaatar and acquainted himself with its exhibits. [video shows Nikonov examining leather goods, then shows shot of the museum.] [end recording]

Nikonov Meets With Workers

LD0607104689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 5 July (TASS)—The CPSU delegation led by member of the Politburo and Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee V.P. Nikonov, which is in Mongolia at the invitation of the MPRP Central Committee, today acquainted itself with the life of the working people of South Gobi aymag.

During a conversation in the aymag committee of the party, there was an exchange of views on matters of improving the activity of party organizations in the

political and economic renewal process. The tasks of developing the village, and work directly within labor collecives were noted. It was noted that the course taken towards affirming and extending contracting and leasing helps to strengthen the feeling among workers of really being in charge, of having fuller development of their enterprise, and of independence. V.P. Nikonov and his entourage visited an agricultural association.

In the second half of the day, the Soviet delegation was received by workers of a carpet factory in the town of Choybalsan. This enterprise, one the sector's most major, was built with aid from the Soviet Union. Its production is supplied to a number of socialist countries, including the USSR.

V.P. Nikonov is accompanied on his tour of the country by D. Molomjamts, member of the Politburo, secretary of the MPRP Central Committee, and V.I. Sitnikov, USSR ambassador to the Mongolian People's Republic.

Addresses Mongolian Officials

LD0607225789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1155 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 6 Jul (TASS)—The CPSU delegation led by Viktor Petrovich Nikonov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which is in Mongolia on an official visit, spent some time on 5 July in the Eastern Aymag. This vast area has at its disposal favorable conditions for pasturable livestock rearing, the first large agricultural holdings were created here. In the town of Choybalsan and around it a new industrial complex is taking shape. Its development is being aided actively by the help given by the Soviet Union.

In a conversation with the leaders of the aymag committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and the executive board of the Hural of People's Deputies issues of the ways of increasing the production of agricultural products and improving the provision of the population with foodstuffs and the social conditions of its life were touched upon. The farmers spoke about development prospects in the region.

The discussions on current problems in raising the efficiency of the agrarian sector and strengthening the role of science in agricultural production were continued in Ulaanbaatar, where the delegation met with the collective of the scientific-research institute of animal farming. This is Mongolia's leading establishment in this field. Breeders there have produced several high-productivity breeds of sheep and cattle, which cope well with local natural and climatic conditions. The scientists are conducting research into the problems of reinforcing the feed base, improving the use of feed resources, refining technology for the production of animal farming products, and into biotechnology.

The hosts and the guests held a businesslike, frank and critical conversation on unresolved tasks, the main essence of which consists in striving for the broad assimilation of scientific developments in the practice of state farms and agricultural associations, and in integrating agrarian science more closely with production.

V.P. Nikonov made a speech today to top officials of the MPRP Central Committee apparatus, of the Council of Ministers, and of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic. He spoke about the CPSU's concept for refining the development of the agrarian sector at the current stage and dwelt on issues connected with intensifying and raising the efficiency of Soviet-Mongolian economic cooperation.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary also spoke in favor of refining the forms of exchanges of party delegations, and of imparting a more specific and purposeful nature to the work on studying and applying the experience of party organizations.

Nikonov-Batmonh Meeting Reported

PM0707104189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation's Sojourn"]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 4 Jul—J. Batmonh, general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and chairman of the Mongolian People's Great Hural Presidium, today received a CPSU delegation, headed by V.P. Nikonov, Politburo member and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which is on an official visit to Mongolia.

There was an exchange of views on questions of Soviet-Mongolian economic cooperation and on making it more effective.

J. Batmonh talked about the implementation of the economic and political reforms in the country. While giving by and large a positive assessment of the work so far, he pointed out the difficulties and complex problems. The Mongolian leaders stressed the purposefulness and resolve of communists and the broad working masses to get on with perestroyka, utilizing the experience of the CPSU.

J. Batmonh rated highly the role of Soviet-Mongolian cooperation in socialist building in Mongolia and stressed the desire to continue steadily expanding it. He paid a great deal of attention to questions of bilateral collaboration in the agricultural sphere, above all in livestock raising.

V.P. Nikonov talked about perestroyka in the USSR, about the decisions of recent CPSU Central Committee plenums, and about the results of the first Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which examined topical tasks

of the development of Soviet society and laid down the principles of the Soviet state's domestic and foreign policy for the next few years.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary talked about party organs' activities in the new conditioons, about measures to implement the CPSU's agrarian policy. V.P. Nikonov paid special attention to questions of improving economic relations in agriculture, to the development of the contract and lease systems and of enterprises processing livestock raising and crop farming products, and to the strengthening of the social infrastructure in the countryside.

The conversation also touched on questions of expanding cooperation between Mongolian aymags and Buryat Autonomous Soviet Socialist Repoublic, Irkutsk and Chita oblasts, and other regions of the Soviet Union bordering on the fraternal country. Mention was made of the big reserves for Mongolian-Soviet bilateral collaboration on the basis of direct and border links.

D. Sodnom, member of the MPRP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Mongolian Council of Ministers, and other party and state leaders of the republic participated in the conversation, which took place in an atmosphere of complete mutual understanding.

USSR Ambassador to Mongolia V.I. Sitnikov participated in the conversation.

V.P. Nikonov and the people accompanying him today visited the biological combine in Songino, near Ulaanbaatar. The biggest modern enterprise in Mongolia, it produces more than 80 types of diagnostic and prophylactic preparations and treatments for livestock raising. Annual gross output at the enterprise amounts to 25-26 million tugriks and one-fifth of it is exported. During the conversation with the labor collective there was a discussion of questions of combining the efforts of Soviet and Mongolian biologists in developiong brand-new and highly effective biological preparations for livestock raising.

V.P. Nikonov addressed the party-economic aktiv of Soviet organizations and institutions in Mongolia.

The CPSU delegation today laid wreaths at the monument to V.I. Lenin and the tomb of D. Suhebaatar and Kh. Choybalsan and looked round the State Central Museum.

Latyshev Comments on Japanese-U.S. Talks

PM0507144189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jun 89 Second Edition p 7

[Igor Latyshev "Correspondent's Comment": "Positions Coordinated"]

[Text] Tokyo—Talks have ended in Washington between Japanese Foreign Minister Hiroshi Mitsuzuka and U.S. President G. Bush and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

The Japanese press reports that the main purpose of the Japanese minister's visit to the United States was to coordinate the two countries' positions on the PRC, since in recent weeks their approaches to events in China have markedly differed. Government circles in Tokyo, as is known, have displayed greater restraint and circumspection than Washington government circles in assessing the events. The sides expressed "concern" over the political situation inside China and agreed to suspend some of the state credits previously promised to the Chinese Government and revise in a downward direction the amount of funds going to the PRC in the form of "economic aid."

At the same time, the two sides confirmed their intention not to damage the "open doors" system which has taken shape in recent years in relations with China. To this end they will continue to maintain trade links and student exchanges with the PRC. As Mitsuzuka said in conversation with Baker, "we should make as much effort as possible not to put China again in a position of isolation from the outside world."

During Mitsuzuka's conversations with the U.S. President and other members of the U.S. Government questions connected with Japanese-American trade friction were also discussed. The exchange of opinions on this score will be continued, it is reported, at the conference of western government heads which is to assemble in Paris in the next few days.

As a whole, as a result of Mitsuzuka's talks in Washington the duplicity of Japanese and U.S. government circles' policy toward the PRC appeared quite transparently: On the one hand, one discerns in this policy a desire to bring unequivocal economic pressure to bear on the PRC Government in order to exert some influence its domestic policy and, on the other hand, there is an obvious caution and a desire to maintain the level of economic, state, and other contacts they have already reached with this great world power.

U.S.-Japanese 'Inconsistency' on PRC Viewed

OW0107081789 Moscow in Japanese in Japan 1200 GMT 30 Jun 89

[Text] Japanese Foreign Minister Mitsuzuka's round of meetings with U.S. President Bush and Secretary of State Baker in Washington have ended. With regard to these meetings, PRAVDA's Tokyo correspondent Latyshev reports as follows: The basic objective of Foreign Minister Mitsuzuka's recent visit to the United States was, as reported in Japan's publications, to adjust the positions of the Japanese and U.S. Governments regarding China. This came as a result of conspicuous differences seen in the two nations' approaches on the incidents in China over the past several weeks.

As you may be aware, the Japanese Government, in contrast to the U.S. Government, has taken a rather cautious and reserved stand regarding the series of incidents in China.

In the talks, while expressing concern about China's domestic situation, Japan and the United States agreed that they should temporarily suspend some state projects promised to the Chinese Government and should also readjust downward the scale of funds provided to China in the form of economic aid.

At the same time, the two nations confirmed their intention to avoid doing anything to damage the open-door system formed in relations with China over the past several years.

Pursuant to this policy, both countries will maintain trade relations and continue student exchanges with China. Foreign Minister Mitsuzuka in his conference with Secretary of State Baker stressed that maximum attention should be given so that China may not again be driven into isolation from the outside world.

The outcome of Foreign Minister Mitsuzuka's negotiations in the United States has brought out into the open the inconsistency of the policies of the Japanese and U.S. Governments regarding China as a whole. The policies have two facets: one clearly intended to exert economic pressure on China to influence its internal affair and the other marked with cautiousness with the hope of maintaining the level of economic, state and other relations which have already been attained with China.

In Foreign Minister Mitsuzuka's meetings with President Bush and other U.S. Government officials, various problems concerning Japan-U.S. trade frictions were also discussed. The discussion on these problems is expected to be continued at the summit talks of seven Western industrialized nations opening in Paris soon.

Nikonov-Led CPSU Delegation Visits DPRK

PM0607142189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit by Delegation"]

[Excerpt] Pyongyang, 30 Jun—[passage omitted] In the morning, V.P. Nikonov and his entourage toured the country. At one farm in the suburbs of the capital, the Kochkhan [name as published] agricultural cooperative, the guests were acquainted with experience in rice and vegetable cultivation. It was stressed during the conversation with members of the cooperative that there must be a more active exchange of specialists and progressive agricultural technology in order to resolve the food problem and that joint ventures and other forms of cooperation must be used for this purpose.

Then the Soviet guests inspected the West Sea Dam, which is the biggest irrigation project in the DPRK. The 8 kilometer-long dam is situated in a sea inlet near the mouth of the river Taedong-gang. The fresh water accumulated in the reservoir here is used to turn the salt marshes on the shore of the Yellow Sea into agricultural land. The CPSU delegation was acquainted with the first results of land cultivation in the newly reclaimed lands and with the ecological situation in this region.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Observer Hopes for Resolution by ASEAN Meeting

BK0607074689 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Station observer Oleg Alekseyev's commentary]

[Text] ASEAN foreign ministers meeting in the capital of Brunei have been focusing mainly on discussing the Cambodian problem.

Although the discussions have not come to a conclusion yet, according what I have learned from available news reports, we can make some observations even at this stage. It is evident that the ASEAN countries most positively appreciate the activities conducted by Hanoi and Phnom Penh toward solving once and for all a problem which has long received priority treatment in various ASEAN capitals—the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer troops from Cambodia.

We still remember that when these partial troop withdrawals were first being conducted step by step, ASEAN and other countries regarded them with suspicion. They came up with some strange interpretations, making it appear as if in issuing such an announcement Hanoi was attempting to dupe the entire international community.

The situation has now completely changed. Hanoi's decision to withdraw all Vietnamese troops from Cambodia by 30 September has been acclaimed by the ASEAN ministers as a positive development. Furthermore, all the speeches at the conference in Bandar Seri Begawan show that the conference participants, in general, no longer regard the presence of the Vietnamese forces in Cambodia as an issue requiring full consideration. In their opinion, this is no longer an issue. In particular, the final phase of the Vietnamese troop withdrawal will proceed under international supervision and the characteristics of this control mechanism will be discussed in detail at the international conference on Cambodia scheduled to open in Paris at the beginning of August.

A different matter is what will happen in Cambodia after the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops? This issue has dominated the attention of the six ASEAN foreign ministers. What can the ASEAN countries do to prevent the eruption of a civil war in Cambodia and the rebirth of the Khmer Rouge regime? These are questions that, according to news reports coming out of the Brunei

capital, worry the conference the most. At present, no one doubts any more that for such a cause it is necessary to end all kinds of aid to all the parties involved in the conflict. This idea has been widely recognized by international public opinion. This is the position that the Soviet Union, the PRC, Thailand, Indonesia, and several other countries concerned maintain toward the prevailing situation. Our wish is that the current ASEAN conference will issue a resolution that will accord with this state of affairs, something that will make an irrefutably important contribution to the Cambodian solution.

Comparison of Shevardnadze's ASEAN Message
PM0507125189

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 5 July 1989 publishes in its Second Edition on page 4 a TASS report on a message from USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze to the chairman of the 22d conference of ASEAN foreign ministers. The PRAVDA report, entitled "Greetings Message," has been compared with the translation of the Moscow TASS International Service in Russian version published on pages 12-13 of the 5 July SOVIET UNION Daily Report, revealing the following variations: Page 12, column two, paragraph one, sentence one in PRAVDA reads: ...South-East Asian nations, which has opened in Brunei. It says:

"Esteemed... (adding phrase);

Page 12, column two, paragraph four, sentence two through three PRAVDA reads: ...strength increasingly surely in the Asia-Pacific region. The process of... (adding phrase);

Page 12, column two, paragraph five, sentence two in PRAVDA reads: ...real disarmament, which, in particular, would make it... (substituting "in particular" for "in part");

Page 13, column one, paragraph two, sentence three in PRAVDA reads: ...of nuclear war, restrict the geographical sphere of nuclear preparations, and strengthen the regime... (supplying PRAVDA rendering of passage indistinctly received on TASS).

Cambodian Party Delegation Visits
PM2906122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparty Ties"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for interparty ties between the CPSU and the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party [KPRP], a delegation of KPRP party workers headed by Keo Chutima, deputy chief of the KPRP Central Committee Propaganda and Education Department, was in the Soviet Union 15-26 June. The Cambodian comrades studied the experience of the Soviet mass media's work in conditions of restructuring. They had meetings and conversations at the CPSU Central Committee Ideological and International Departments, the editorial offices of a number of central newspapers and journals, and ideological institutions. The delegation took a trip to the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Rogachev Meets With Cambodian Envoy
PM0707095589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Forthcoming Conference"]

[Text] I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, had talks 3 July with Hor Nam Hong, Cambodian ambassador to the USSR, during which certain issues connected with the preparations for the forthcoming international conference on Cambodia were discussed.

Near East & South Asia

Prokofyev Comments on Likud Resolution
TA0707040089 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Hebrew 1630 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Commentary by Dimitriy Prokofyev]

[Text] The Likud Central Committee unanimously endorsed Shamir's peace plan with the four additions made in agreement with Ministers Sharon, Levi, and Moda'i. The prime minister, who submitted a report to the Central Committee, has promised that East Jerusalem Arabs would not participate in the elections as voters or as candidates. He said that the elections will be made conditional on a cessation of the intifadah [uprising] in the territories; also, he promised that the settlement policy would continue, and that there will be no alien sovereignty over any part of Eretz Yisra'el. The prime minister rejected any possibility of holding negotiations with the PLO.

Here are remarks by our commentator Dimitriy Prokofyev on the Likud Central Committee resolution:

The prime minister completely surrendered to the hawks in his party, preferring partisan interests over national ones. This is what happened, and there is no other way to interpret the Likud resolution. I will not be the one to determine whether the amended plan corresponds with the one approved by the Cabinet. I will not be the one to term the substantial changes made in the Israeli peace plan, which was a result of a compromise between the coalition parties, as illegal. The political echelons in Jerusalem will have to decide on this. However, I have one thing to say: The Likud has closed the door on the implementation of the initiative. Neither the Arab states nor the Palestinians will accept it as published by the Likud.

It is possible that Shamir and his partners placed their bets on assistance from the West. Whether they will get it, however, is doubtful. The EEC calls on Israel to stop the occupation and enter negotiations with the PLO in the framework of an international conference. The U.S.

Administration, though pro-Israeli, is not necessarily pro-Likud. Ambassador William Brown said 2 days ago that the administration will continue maintaining its commitment to Israel's safety within recognized borders that are acceptable to the neighboring countries, as he puts it. The policy of settlements never fails to be rejected in Washington as damaging to the peace process. In the Likud they say that the PLO is not a partner for the peace process. After yesterday's resolution, however, it is the Likud who has stopped being a partner for a peace process. There are still many in Israel who believe that territories are better than peace. They should be reminded of the results of the old slogan: Sharm al-Shaykh is preferable to peace. A war broke out and thousands of Israeli youths paid with their lives. Now the Arabs have supremely lethal weapons they did not have during the Yom Kippur War. They have missiles that can hit any city in Israel, and many others.

A Likud government means a new war in the Middle East. A Likud government is leading the Israeli people to a new Mezada. This is what matters today. Now, much depends on the alignment position. How will it respond to the Likud challenge? How will it prevent peace from getting buried? All the left-wing parties call on the Alignment to break up the coalition with the rejectionist front—in this way did Me'ir Wilner, Israeli Communist Party leader, address Shim'on Peres. The CRM [Citizens Rights Movement], Shinuy, MAPAM [United Workers Party], the Progressive List for Peace, and the Arab Democratic Party have all suggested a united front for peace to be headed by the Alignment, against the scheming, right-wing extremist Likud. Many in the Alignment—including Ministers Shahal and Weizman; Hayim Ramon, head of the Knesset faction; Knesset Members Bar'am, Liba'i, Eli'av, and others—side with this demand to break up the coalition.

For the time being Shim'on Peres has been content with issuing a statement rejecting the four Likud additions, and putting forth four opposing Labor Party clarifications: East Jerusalem Arabs would participate in the elections. Labor would agree to a territorial compromise with the Arabs. Labor objects to settlements, and opposes conditioning the elections with a cessation of the intifadah.

This is, undoubtedly, a constructive approach. Furthermore, according to Minister Peres, Labor is not committed to the Likud resolutions. Nevertheless, the basis on which the coalition is formed leaves the Alignment handcuffed, while the Likud is free. [Words indistinct] the peace process cannot make progress in such conditions.

The time for a compromise with the Likud hawks is over. The next couple of weeks will be decisive for the alignment's continued partnership in the coalition. A reconciliation with the Likud under the current state of affairs would mean sharing the responsibility for the bloodshed of many thousands of Israelis.

Iranian Presidential Elections Viewed

NC0607211589 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Interview with Aleksandr Batev, Radio Moscow commentator, by unidentified announcer, from the "On the Waves of Radio Moscow" feature; Batev speaks in Russian, with superimposed Persian translation, and questions are in Persian—recorded]

[Text] [Batev] The commencement of the election campaign marked a very interesting point in the life of Iran. For example, about 170 people have presented their documents for registration as presidential candidates. Women were also among them. These facts indicate how intense is the desire for political activit among Iranians. Of course, not all the candidates measured up to the criteria laid down in the constitution for this purpose. Only 80 people could be registered. The only regret here is that, under the constitution, the names of the candidates and their reasons for applying cannot be divulged. In my opinion, if it were otherwise, numerous interesting factors would have come to light. What is even more regrettable is that we can anticipate that many of the candidates will remain anonymous until the end. This is because the Council of Guardians will nominate only a small number of those who have submitted applications as official candidates.

[Announcer] However, the name of at least one of the candidates is well known.

[Batev] Do you mean Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the present speaker of the Majlis? He in fact annouced his inclination to be nominated as a presidential candidate some time ago. In addition, the great majority of observers predict his victory. Following the abstention of Ahmad, the son of the late imam, from participation in the election campaign, it appears that this prediction is quite accurate.

[Announcer] In your opinion, does it not appear that in such a case the presidential election will be shorn of its its usual fervor? This is because it may be difficult ot find anyone who can match Hashemi-Rafsanjani as far as political importance or fame is concerned from among the official nominees.

[Batev] In my opinion, if the presidential election is deprived of something on one hand, it may gain something on the other, and still draw attention. On the same day as the presidential election, a referendum on the completion and revision of the constitution will take place. On the basis of these addenda and revisions, it is being foressen that the future president of the country will enjoy considerably greater privileges than he does today. If, by any chance, the voters do not approve the revision of the constitution in the referendum, then it is possible that victory in the presidential polls may naturally lose some of its importance.

[Announcer] How do you view the future outlook—that is, the prospect that the Iranian president will be given more powers than he has today?

[Batev] On principle, this should have a favorable effect in the more intensive delegation of tasks and duties in the various governmental departments of Iran. For quite a while now, there have been complaints of lack of coordination in this regard in Tehran. On the other hand, the centralization of power in the hands of one person raises the possibility of the abuse of such power. It appears that the Council for the Reappraisal of the Constitution has borne this in mind.

This council recently approved the recommendation that the president will be answerable and responsible to the Majlis for the performance of the cabinet. However, many factors here are linked to the personality of the president himself. But who will be the president? We only have a short time to wait before the answer to this question is obtained.

Iranian Envoy Discusses Soviet Ties

NC0607154889 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Interview with Naser Heyrani-Nowbari, ambassador of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the USSR, by unidentified Radio Moscow correspondent, speaking in Persian, in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Correspondent] Mr Ambassador, I am extremely grateful that you could spare some time to talk with me. This is the first time in recent years that a Soviet correspondent has been present in the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Moscow. Availing myself of this present opportunity, and with your permission, I will ask you about the issues pertaining to Soviet-Iranian ties. Mr Ambassador, please tell us about the outlook for Soviet-Iranian relations in the near future.

[Heyrani-Nowbari] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. In view of the fact that Iran and the Soviet Union have a long common border and are neighbors, there is immense scope for cooperation between the two countries in all fields. This scope exists in many fields, including economic, political, cultural, and all other areas. We believe that there is a great deal of room for cooperation between the two countries and that this has not been exploited to the optimum. We hope that in view of Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani's successful visit to Moscow, which ended a few days ago, we can tap this immense potential and exploit it to the full from now on. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr Ambassador, Mr Gorbachev is (?implementing) a new political way of thinking. What is your opinion on the policy of the new thinking?

[Heyrani-Nowbari] The fact is that this new way of thinking in the Soviet Union is one of the fundamental factors which have contributed to the changes in the relations between the Soviet Union and Iran. These revamped ties with higher and deeper dimensions were initiated in the wake of His Eminence Imam Khomeyni's message to Mr Gorbachev. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] One of the results of this new way of thinking was the departure of Soviet Armed Forces from Afghanistan. However, bloodshed continues in that country. In your opinion, can the Soviet Union and Iran cooperate in resolving the situation around Afghanistan? What is Tehran's stance on this issue?

[Heyrani-Nowbari] We have had friendly and cordial discussions with the Soviet Union on this issue right from the start. We believed that the best way was for the Soviet forces to leave Afghanistan as soon as possible. This has been our firm principle on Afghanistan right from the beginning. We reiterated on many occasions that we would be prepared to cooperate in the search for a political solution for Afghanistan after the departure of Soviet forces from Afghanistan. We are still adhering to the same stance and we are ready to cooperate with all our neighbors in the region, whether the Soviet Union, Pakistan, or any of our other neighbors. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] what is the Islamic Republic's view on the proposal by the esteemed President Najibullah of Afghanistan on the establishment of a broad-based coalition government?

[Heyrani-Nowbari] We believe that a government should be established in Afghanistan based on the will of the people. On principle, when a government is legitimate and is based on the will of the majority of its Muslim people, the form it takes and the political mechanism by which it comes to power depends on the people of Afghanistan, who should themselves make an effort in this regard. We will support them on the basis of this principled stance: first of all, the intervention of foreign countries in Afghanistan's internal affairs should be halted. Second, all potentials should be mobilized so that the Afghan nation will have every opportunity to establish its ideal government based on the will of all the Muslim people of Afghanistan.

[Correspondent] Mr Nowbari, can the Soviet Union be of assistance in resolving the Iran-Iraq situation?

[Heyrani-Nowbari] We believe that, for certain reasons, the Soviet Union has remarkable opportunities to act and assist in resolving the Iran-Iraq dispute. First, the Soviet Union is a close neighbor. Second, it has cordial ties with Iran as well as Iraq. Therefore, it may be said that the Soviet Union has real possibilities where the (?quick) resolution of the Iran-Iraq dispute is concerned, especially since it is also a permanent member of the Security Council. Consequently, we believe that the

Soviet Union could utilize these possibilities for the resolution of this conflict and to create a stable and balanced situation in the region.

[Correspondent] Mr Nowbari, an accord was signed recently on the exchange of students between the Soviet Union and Iran. When will this exchange begin?

[Heyrani-Nowbari] Yes. In the series of talks held and accords signed, cooperation between the two countries on the exchange of students is one of the topics that came up. Cooperation in the field of higher education and teacher and student exchanges were discussed. Therefore, in view of the agreement reached between the two countries on this subject, planning should begin shortly so that the details of the issue may be ironed out and an intensive program formulated. Students may then begin their education in their desired fields. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr Nowbari, during the talks between Comrade Gorbachev and Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the issue of a joint Soviet-Iranian space flight was mentioned. What do you think, when will we go together on a space flight?

[Heyrani-Nowbari] During Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani's stay, a very interesting visit was the one he made to the Mir space station. The idea was propounded there that such cooperation should take place between the two countries. This topic also arose in the talks between the leaders...[Heyrani-Nowbari changes thought] the high-level talks between the two countries. Certain principles were agreed upon; that is, the two countries reached a principled agreement based on a joint flight into space between iran and the Soviet Union. It was decided that the experts would examine the details and draw up a detailed program. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr Ambassador, I am extremely grateful to you for receiving me. I thank you for your remarks. God bless you.

Coup in Sudan Reported; Premier Under Arrest

PM0607084589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
2 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Stepanov dispatch: "On Events in Sudan"]

[Text] Beirut, 1 Jul—As reported earlier, a bloodless military coup has been staged in Khartoum. Power in the country has passed into the hands of the command of the revolution of national salvation consisting of 15 senior army officers. All legislative and executive power belongs to them. The chairman of the council—Brigadier General 'Umar Hasssan Ahmad al-Bashir was recently appointed commander of a parachute batallion. A state of emergency has been declared in the country. Omdurman radio has reported that the government, parliament, political parties, trade unions, and nonreligious associations have been dissolved, newspapers have been closed down, and the provisional constitution has been revoked. Prime Minister S. al-Mahdi and General F. Ahmad, commander in chief of the army, have been arrested.

The present coup was staged following the exposure 18 June in Khartoum of an army conspiracy in support of former president J. Numayri. Fourteen senior officers were arrested at the time.

The first pronouncements of the command of the revolution of national salvation state that Sudan's foreign policy will be based on good-neighborliness and cooperation, the country will abide by its obligations under past agreements, and foreign diplomats are completely safe. All the officers who are members of the command belong to the opposition movement of "national salvation" which pursues the aim of "rectifying the situation in the country."

Today's editions of Egyptian newspapers reflect a sympathetic stance in respect of the coup. AL-AKHBAR quotes a member of the command describing the situation in Sudan as calm.

In Addis Ababa representatives of Sudan's national liberation army which is fighting for the autonomy of the country's southern regions have declared that they are waiting for additional information about the coup before defining their attitude toward it. As is known, the liberation army rebels have reached agreement with the previous government on the convocation of a constitutional conference in September of this year with a view to ending civil war and reaching a settlement in the south of the country.

New Leader Outlines Basic Policies

PM0607081989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
4 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own Correspondent A. Stepanov report: "Situation in Sudan"]

[Text] Beirut, 3 Jul— 'Umar Hassan Ahmad al-Bashir, leader of the recent military coup in Sudan, who has been given the title of Lieutenant General by decision of the Revolutionary Council, has given an interview to the magazine ARMED FORCES which has replaced all the other publications banned by the new authorities.

The head of the Sudanese regime stated, among other things, that he will rule the country with an "iron fist" in an attempt to extricate the country from its economic crisis. He also aims to end the civil war in the south by means of talks. In Ahmad al-Bashir's words, the coup was carried out to put an end to the "decay and corruption" for which the political parties are to blame. He ruled out the possibility of a resumption of their activity in the country.

The interview also touched on the question of introducing shari'a (Islamic) law in Sudan—one of the main points of disagreement with the non-Muslim insurgents in the south. If the talks prove unproductive it has been promised that the problem of shari'a law will be submitted to a nationwide referendum.

In the foreign policy sphere, the new Sudanese regime intends to develop relations with its neighbors and the Arab world. Ahmad al-Bashir has also urged Washington to treat with understanding the steps taken by the new Sudanese authorities. The new Sudanese leader supported the continuation of the UN food aid to the starving population in the south of the country.

A list of arrested statesmen and political figures has been published in Khartoum. It includes 20 ministers and leaders of parties, including Muhammad Ibrahim Nuqud, general secretary of the Sudanese Communist Party Central Committee. A. al-Tijani al-Tayyib Babiker, a party Central Committee member and chief editor of the newspaper AL-MAYDAN, is also under arrest.

The fate of former Sudanese Prime Minister S. al-Mahdi, who was ousted by the coup, remains unknown. As 'U. al-Bashir stated on Omdurman radio, "the former prime minister has disappeared. Al-Mahdi has not been killed. Despite the rumors, he is not under arrest at present."

More than 30 senior officers have been discharged. Officers sympathetic to President J. Numayri—overthrown in 1985—who were arrested 18 June on a charge of plotting against the government, have been freed.

According to news agency reports, the new Sudanese regime has already been recognized by Egypt and Saudi Arabia; Jordan and the Yemen Arab Republic have expressed support for it.

South Yemen Delegation Visits USSR 18-25 Jun

PM2906121589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Familiarization With Experience"]

[Text] In accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the Yemeni Socialist Party [YSP] a delegation of YSP party workers headed by H. Isma'il, deputy chief of the YSP Central Committee Economic Department, was in the Soviet Union 18-25 June.

The South Yemeni guests had conversations at the CPSU Central Committee International and Socioeconomic Departments and visited the city of Kiev.

In the course of their stay in the Soviet Union, the YSP party workers were familiarized with CPSU party organizations' experience of the work of restructuring in the economic sphere and with the life of the Soviet people.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Roundtable Discussion Held on Africa Policy

LD2706211689 Moscow TASS in English 1841 GMT 27 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 27 TASS—The USSR's foreign policy vis-a-vis African countries undergoes positive changes now, said Mikhail Maiorov, deputy head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Africa Department.

Speaking today at the opening of a round-table conference at the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre, involving Soviet mass media executives and ambassadors of African countries, accredited in Moscow, he pointed out that mutually beneficial cooperation would underlie the Soviet Union's policy in relations with African countries.

The Soviet Union backs away from its old policy and does not intend to undermine African countries' traditional ties with Western states, Maiorov said. Deideologisation of the USSR's relations with African countries will help get Africa out of the confrontation zone. All these positive elements of the Soviet foreign policy are reflected in the Soviet Union's mass media, Maiorov stressed.

The present general international climate exerts a positive influence on the situation on the African continent. This is exemplified by the results of the recent meeting in Zaire, which discussed internal settlements in Angola, the recent initiative by the Ethiopian leadership for settling the Eritrean problem, and progress which has shaped up in solving the problem of Western Sahara.

Representatives of African embassies, who spoke at the round-table conference, called upon Soviet journalists to cover more impartially and fully all facts of life in African countries in Soviet newspapers, magazines and on television, and not to give only exotic sketches of this continent. They expressed the wish to make meetings with Soviet journalists regular.

Soviet journalists, in turn, told about the work of various news media and answered questions by diplomats.

Ethiopia Coup, Internal Disputes Viewed

PM2706101589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA own correspondent G. Ustinov "Reportage from Ethiopia": "After the Storm"]

[Text] Addis Ababa—More than a month has passed since that cloudless May day when thunder clouds suddenly swept across the political horizon. And although the storm quickly subsided, the shock caused by it still reverberates in conversations, debates, and rumors: The country is reflecting on the reasons for and consequences

of what happened 16 May when a large group of prominent military men tried to seize power in the state. This was the first attempt at a military coup since the 1974 revolution.

More and more details of the event are emerging in the course of the investigation which is under way simultaneously in the two epicenters of the conspiracy—Addis Ababa and Asmera, the country's second largest city. As official reports testify, Merid Negussie, chief of the general staff, Amha Desta, commander of the Air Force, and Demisie Bultu, commander of the Second Revolutionary Army based in Asmera, initiated the action against the present regime. Ethiopian Defense Minister Haile Giorgis Habte-Mariam categorically refused to take part in the coup. In the first minutes of the putsch he was killed by conspirators, and later was buried with honors, like a hero, in the capital's military cemetery.

The military action in Addis Ababa was crushed by forces loyal to the government. At that time its main participants were apprehended, except for the chief of the General Staff and the Air Force commander who, according to certain information, were shot on the spot at the Defense Ministry or—according to other information—committed suicide. There was only one "civilian" among those arrested—Minister of Industry Fanta Belay, who, incidentally, previously served in the Air Force and holds the rank of major general.

The last pockets of resistance were crushed in Asmera 2 days later. Moreover, 27 top officers, including 11 generals, were killed. Two of them managed to escape across the border. Now 43 people in Addis Ababa and 103 people in Asmera are under investigation.

It is clear that the Army as a whole, the state security forces and the police did not support this action. I suppose the only secondary wave was the antigovernment student strike at Addis Ababa University and disturbances in some other educational establishments. I, for example, unintentionally witnessed a demonstration by students from the capital's "8 June" business college, during which sticks and stones were hurled at the guardians of law and order in response to a police demand to disperse.

And although the authorities have gained a complete victory over the conspirators, the country's most important problems, in the context of which the military action took place, are still far from being solved. The economic situation is particularly difficult. Some of the local chronic ills are literally staggering. Homelessness: A person who has settled down for the night in a square on a couple of newspapers is by no means a rarity even in Addis Ababa. Unemployment: If a secondary school graduate's parents have no connections, he is doomed to years of waiting for a job. Poverty: No sooner does your car stop at the traffic lights than a dozen hands stretch through the open window.... Poverty as a whole throughout the country is horrifying. The annual income per capita is only $110.30 [Ethiopian Dollars] per day....

It may be—or probably that's how it really is—that the military who rebelled were counting on the masses' concern and dissatisfaction, and on the need to constantly tighten one's belt, as explosive factors. After such serious action by the top representatives of a highly influential social stratum in Ethiopia—the military—I believe that the measures taken should not be limited to punitive and investigative ones. The circumstances require that the situation in the country be assessed more responsibly and profoundly.

The republic's National Assembly—Shengo—gathered 5 June at an extraordinary session. The most crucial question was examined there: How to achieve peace in the north of Ethiopia where the bloody civil war has been going on for 3 decades now. It is precisely this which has led to the present disastrous situation in the country, costing thousands of lives and causing enormous damage to the national economy, and necessitating that the lion's share of an already modest state budget—from 50-70 percent (according to diverse sources)—be spent on military objectives.

Let us recall the reasons for and roots of the conflict. The northern province of Eritrea, the country's largest, with its capital in the city of Asmera, stretches for 800 km along the Red Sea. Ethiopia's two main ports—Massawa and Aseb—through which virtually all the republic's foreign trade operations are effected, are located in this zone. The "lifelines" along which all the vitally important freight—from petroleum products to food aid—is transported to the capital, to the central and southern provinces, and passes from these ports to the heart of Ethiopia. Exports travel along the same highways in the opposite direction: coffee, leather, leather products, livestock, and vegetable oil.

Another northern province—Tigre—borders on Eritrea from the south. Back at the beginning of the 1950s these two provinces also became the theater of combat operations which are still going on to this day. Two large organizations—the "National Front for the Liberation of Eritrea" and the "National Front for the Liberation of Tigre"—are seeking to separate these provinces from Ethiopia.

The forces of these organizations, which are supported by a number of Western and Arab countries, are well armed and possess high combat capability. They control a significant part of the northern territory, and not only rural areas but some important cities as well. Each spring, as a rule, between the dry and rainy seasons, these forces carry out vigorous offensive operations against government forces.

I have visited both provinces a number of times. I talked with the local inhabitants in the clean, architecturally integrated, and openly Europeanized Asmera, and in Mekel, which is renowned for its bazaars. They are all very tired of the burdens of the interminable war, of the shelling and plundering, and of the sad news which their families receive after the latest fighting.

An extraordinary session of the Shengo examined and adopted important peace initiatives aimed at a political settlement of the "northern problems." On behalf of the Ethiopian people it invited any opposition parties, organizations, movements, and tendencies to negotiate a way out of the situation which has taken shape and to put an end to the fratricidal war. It is proposed to begin talks without any preliminary conditions in an atmosphere of openness, and in the presence of foreign observers.

These peace proposals have received broad support in the country. And today the public's attention is focused on this. International reaction to the Ethiopian Government's new initiatives is mainly well disposed. Even some Arab countries, for example Iraq and Syria, have approved them. The vast majority of African countries, guided by the OAU resolution on the immutability of state borders, also advocates a peaceful solution to the Eritrea and Tigre problems, and is against splitting Ethiopia.

"After many years of military conflict Ethiopia has the opportunity to adopt on a broad and fair basis a peace agreement whose details can be formulated jointly by all interested parties," General Tesfa-Mariam Amaha, a Shengo deputy from Eritrea and commander of a motorized rifle division based there, said in conversation with me. "This war is not between two countries, but between brothers. There is no justification for it. If the course toward a political settlement does not develop, this will be an inexcusable historic error."

East Europe

Berlin Daily Cited on Gorbachev-Honecker Talks

PM0607160189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "An Important Milestone. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND on the Meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and E. Honecker"]

[Text] Berlin, 3 Jul—The visit to the USSR and the friendly meeting between E. Honecker and M.S. Gorbachev were a new milestone in the development and deepening of fraternal collaboration between the USSR and the GDR, NEUES DEUTSCHLAND writes today in an editorial entitled "Friendship, Class Alliance, and Proletarian Tradition." The cordial meetings between the supreme representative of the German socialist worker-peasant state and workers and other working people of Magnitogorsk met with universal approval in the GDR. E. Honecker's visit aroused great international interest, the paper notes.

Great significance attaches to the USSR's and GDR's declared resolve to intensify collaboration in implementing the Warsaw Pact states' joint peace policy and make the disarmament process continuous and consistent, the paper writes. Measures aimed at eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons and reducing conventional armaments must ensure equal security for all states and respect for each country's sovereignty and integrity within its present borders.

The editorial stressed that E. Honecker saw M.S. Gorbachev's recent visit to the FRG as a significant contribution to the further improvement of the situation in Europe. The persistent efforts by the Soviet Union and its allies in the sphere of disarmament and detente create conditions for the fruitful development of cooperation and an atmosphere of complete trust among the states of the continent, including the FRG. Only by reducing military confrontation is it possible to make the world a safer place.

ADN Cited on Lushev-Kessler Talks

LD2906183389 Moscow TASS in English 1717 GMT 29 Jun 89

[Text] Berlin 29/6/ TASS—The GDR news agency ADN reports:

Berlin (ADN)—The GDR and its Armed Forces will always fulfill their commitments in the alliance of the socialist military coalition, Defence Minister Heinz Kessler told the commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact here on Thursday.

Soviet General Petr Lushev stressed the responsibility of the joint armed forces for the collective protection of socialism and peace.

In accordance with the defensive nature of the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine, the socialist military coalition was working for a considerable reduction in the level of military parity, he said.

Given NATO's adherence to the outdated concept of nuclear deterrence and its striving for military supremacy, however, great vigilance was still required.

The two sides paid tribute to the positive changes in international relations resulting from the dynamic foreign policy of the socialist states and numerous social forces in the world.

They described proposals made by U.S. President George Bush at a NATO summit in Brussels at the end of May as a first reply, pointing in the right direction, to the unilateral disarmament steps of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries.

PZPR Debates Presidential Candidates, Opposition

PM0507150789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jul 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent V. Volkov dispatch for PRAVDA: "Discussion at the Plenum"]

[Text] Warsaw—In connection with the preparation for the impending sitting of the newly formed Polish parliament, the first part of the 13th plenum of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] Central Committee has been held here. The debate, in which over 20 Central Committee members took part, discussed the question of the recommendation of Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, for president of Poland. The participants in the plenum stressed the importance of this question from the point of view of Poland's state and national interests. In their opinion, the deputies of the government coalition must seek a unified position on this important question. Attention was also paid to attitudes in the party and in the country which to a great extent are determined by the serious situation in the market. Possible actions by the opposition circles were also examined.

At the joint sitting of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the PZPR Deputies Club plenum which then took place, W. Jaruzelski spoke in connection with the proposal sent to him by the PZPR Central Committee that he agree to be nominated for election to the post of Polish president. Thanking them for the proposal, he informed them of the decision he had taken after deep reflection not to run for this post.

We all know what our people are really living by today, what worries them, and what everyday life is like for Polish families, particularly in the past few months, W. Jaruzelski noted. The population is tired and has a perfect right to ask when a ray of sunshine will finally shine over Poland. Stressing that he is not trying to avoid responsibility, W. Jaruzelski stated that he must, however, take social realities into consideration. I am well aware that public opinion identifies me more often with martial law and far more rarely with the line of reform or with the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Central Committee plenum, which are so significant, he noted, recalling that throughout those difficult years he remained convinced of the necessity to guard the stability of the state, as well as the necessity for thorough reform and well developed democratization. However, this is obviously not enough to receive real public understanding and support, which are particularly necessary in the present situation.

Expressing the belief that the key question for Poland now is the cohesion and assimilation of new forms of social life and national consensus in the broadest sense of the word, W. Jaruzelski said that the Politburo should recommend Czeslaw Kisz czak, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Polish minister of foreign affairs, for the post of Polish president. In the eyes of the people, including the opposition circles, he is justly considered to be a leading representative of the line of consensus and bold resolutions, of which the best known is the "roundtable." C. Kisz czak has confirmed many times that he can successfully guard the highest interests of the socialist state.

After a thorough discussion of this statement, the PZPR Central Committee resolved to confirm its recommendation and suggested that W. Jaruzelski seriously consider his position on this issue. The PZPR Deputies Club also confirmed its support for the nomination of the PZPR Central Committee first secretary.

W. Jaruzelski had not yet given a final answer after the discussion.

At the press conference after the sitting PZPR press spokesman J. Bisztyga drew attention to the statements by the participants in the present discussion regarding the importance of the post of president in the current political system and the need to choose a candidacy which would ensure the continuity of the party's chosen line of national consensus, renewal, and change. The press spokesman expressed the opinion that the plenum has become the next step in the consolidation of the party. Despite all the difficulties of the "post-election shock," the PZPR is continuing to display calm in its policy and an ability to become a force acting efficiently in conditions of parliamentary democracy, he said. Since the discussion W. Jaruzelski has not yet given a final reply.

Jaruzelski Polish Journal Interview Cited

PM3006120589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Making Use of Friends' Experience; Interview with W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee"; date and place not given]

[Text] In pursuing its policy of broad transformations, Poland is ready to make use of the experience of other socialist countries, in particular the USSR and Hungary.

It is open to everything that is new that has given a good account of itself, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee and chairman of the Polish State Council, said in an interview to the KONFRONTACJE journal. Moreover, each party operates in a sovereign fashion in accordance with the historically formed conditions of the country concerned. Today this is the indisputable norm. People outside Poland, including its friends and allies, are closely observing the changes occurring there.

Taking into account its leading position in the reform process, Poland has become a unique testing ground. In these circumstances the failure of the Polish experiment

could have an adverse effect on the course of changes in socialism and would have negative consequences for the whole range of relations between East and West.

A program alone and the will and determination to implement the reforms are still not enough, he continued. Public confidence and support are also essential. Today we are closer to this desired goal. The main public and political forces have now become part of the National Assembly. Now everything hinges on their will and ability to cooperate.

The national accord is not a single act, but a lengthy and difficult process. It cannot be decreed, the conditions must ripen. It is essential to remember the diversity of approach to the cause of national consensus both within opposition circles and among some of our ranks and the degree of pressure on those who wanted to hold a dialogue. But we succeeded not only in reaching consensus, but also in taking important steps on the path toward a Polish model of parliamentary democracy. But obviously there are dangers, and everything should be done—and this means everyone—to avoid emotions, extremes, and confrontation. Today common sense, moderation, and responsibility are particularly necessary. Our partners must know that they are dealing with a stable country providing a guarantee of the successful implementation of the new agreements in the financial and economic spheres.

Everything achieved so far is giving Poland great opportunities which are also a commitment for the future, the Polish leader indicated. Everyone must study the new, democratic political culture. We shall argue and wage political battles, but we must not trifle with the values which are the foundation of our Polish home.

Polish Workers Party Secretary on Elections

PM2906132389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin interview with Leszek Miller, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, under the rubric "Life in the Fraternal Parties": "Time for Learning Lessons"; date and place not given]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Jun—The results of the elections to the Polish Sejm and Senate are being thoroughly analyzed at all levels in the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]. As is well known, candidates to the country's highest body of authority from the ruling coalition did not gain any significant support from the electorate. In this connection, the most recent Politburo session determined the directions of PZPR activity for the immediate period. In an interview with the newspaper TRYBUNA LUDU, Leszek Miller, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, talked about the situation in the party and the country.

"The elections were a serious shock for many," the Central Committee secretary said, "and they have made it necessary to thoroughly analyze the present situation. The party has to prove that the ideas by which it is guided are vital, rational, and for the good of society. At the forthcoming PZPR Central Committee plenum and later at the 11th party congress, questions about its future activity will undoubtedly be discussed in very great detail. We have to arm ourselves with everything of value that has proved itself and place the economic and political reforms currently under way in the country on a more effective footing. I also think," the Central Committee secretary said, "that there needs to be some cardinal organizational, program, and cadre restructuring in the party. It must be characterized by an enrichment of the methods, structures, and arsenal of means of influence typical of a party working in conditions of parliamentary democracy. Political pluralism will also help to uncover bright, new political talents, which will in turn make it possible to introduce fresh forces to the management of the people's Poland. As before, the United Peasants Party and Democratic Party are expected to play an enormous role in this very important task."

Polish Communist Party Deputies Discuss Sejm Tasks

PM2706155989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Jun 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Poland: Meetings With Parliamentarians"]

[Text] A 2-day meeting of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies Club, which has opened in Warsaw, is devoted to a discussion of the tasks facing the PZPR deputies in the newly convened Sejm.

The club unites 173 communist parliamentarians. By tradition such meetings, at which key questions of the PZPR deputies' concerted strategy and tactics are examined, are held on the eve of sessions of the Polish Parliament. This meeting is of special significance because, according to the election results, representatives of the opposition will also take their seats in the newly convened bicameral parliament, which will begin its work in the next few days.

Addressing the meeting, W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, emphasized that the party's Deputies Club has an unusually important role to play in the highest organ of state power. It is to be a collective guarantor of Poland's socialist path of development and the champion of the party's political course in the Sejm. The PZPR course serves the building of efficient, just socialism.

The effectiveness of the PZPR Deputies Club's work and the success of its initiatives will be determined to a considerable degree by cooperation within the framework of a coalition of allied parties.

The Polish leader expressed the hope that it will be possible to arrange forms of constructive cooperation also with opposition deputies and senators in the Sejm in the name of Poland's interests. There were numerous confrontational manifestations during the elections, and so it is very desirable for a responsible, businesslike discussion to begin during the work of parliament.

We are conducting a historic experiment, W. Jaruzelski pointed out in conclusion. It is hard work, but at the same time it is also an opportunity to create a model of socialist parliamentary democracy.

M. Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, was elected chairman of the party's Deputies Club.

On the same day L. Walesa, chairman of the "Solidarity" trade union, met with Sejm senators and deputies who have gotten into parliament on the electoral list of the "Solidarity" civilian committee. The meeting was held "behind closed doors." As J. Onyszkiewicz, "Solidarity's" press spokesman, reported, it formed a civilian parliamentary club embracing opposition senators and Sejm deputies.

L. Walesa emphasized in a brief conversation with journalists that he advocates an evolutionary path of development for Poland and observance of the accords reached around the "roundtable." It is necessary to advance calmly and peacefully, so as not to spoil what is now being done. At the same time, citing the opinion of opposition parliamentarians, L. Walesa laid the blame for Poland's present difficulties on the PZPR leadership.

IZVESTIYA on Polish Postelection Scene

PM2606085389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Poland After the Elections: 'Broad Coalition' Needed"]

[Text] Warsaw—And so, all questions have been answered. The names of those who will be sitting in the Sejm and Senate in the near future are known. But passions will boil around the election results for a long time to come, because many political astrologists failed to forecast what actually happened. But does this mean that the changes in the Polish political landscape came like a bolt out of the blue? By no means. But we will return to this later.

Yes, the results of the Sejm and Senate elections just held proved unfavorable for the government coalition and primarily for the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] which, bluntly speaking, suffered a defeat without precedent in the 45 years of the existence of People's Poland. This is the harsh truth, and Polish Communists have accepted it honestly and without equivocation. Wherein lies the special drama of this defeat?

The party, in the process of renewing itself, embarked on a course of radical reforms and renewal of the entire society, of pluralism in social life and the economy, of national accord. Overcoming the dogmatism and doctrinairism deposited in its own ranks by the Stalinist times, it proved itself capable of innovation and promotion of bold ideas. Not only Poland itself but also the whole world responded favorably to the "roundtable" idea, which is based on dialogue with the opposition, the latter's legalization, and its involvement in state structures and official political life. The "roundtable" was continued directly at the elections, which were partly based on contest. More than that, they were sharply competitive.

And it was right then at the height of political creativity, one could say, when the PZPR had emerged as an organization which had cast off the ossified strategy and style of the past, an organization capable of exercising self-restraint and running calculated risks for the sake of lofty national interests, that injustice struck. And the party, to give it its due, accepted events with dignity and without panic, let alone the slightest intention to embark on hasty political maneuvers in order to regain some of what it had lost.

Lessons are being learned from the defeat, and the forthcoming 13th PZPR Central Committee Plenum will be devoted to them.

Let me remind readers of the final election results. In the Senate—the opposition won 99 of its 100 seats. Just a single mandate was captured by an "outsider" —no, not a PZPR functionary but Henryk Stoklosa, who is a prosperous private entrepreneur. The Sejm's composition was almost totally renewed. According to agreement reached at the "roundtable," 65 percent of seats were reserved for the PZPR and its allies. The fight for the mandates kept for the government coalition was conducted on a multiple-candidacy basis. "Lech's team" also got hold of quite a few seats—all the remaining 35 percent. Moreover, the opposition nominated just a single candidate per seat. This is the ironical remark W. Jaruzelski made in this context: "Being a general, I envy the discipline of 'Solidarity' cadres."

Different politicians and current affairs writers offer different explanations for the election results. It is said that this was not an election but rather a plebiscite in which the opposition relied not on specific candidates with their individual qualities but on a "team," on symbols. That millions of citizens worried by the persisting economic difficulties, unable to see any "light at the end of the tunnel," and associating the crisis phenomena in the country with the existing administration's policy, demonstratively rejected the party, primarily. The fire was also fueled by the opposition itself, whose propaganda launched an attack on the past 45 years, declaring that these years represent wasted time in Poland's history.

It was an unquestionable mistake to include the names of well-known figures from the PZPR and other coalition parties and organizations on the so-called national list which made no allowances for multiple candidacies. It was easy to cross off the entire list at the stroke of a pencil, and the opposition called on people to do so. And yet this list actually included the names of the initiators and active champions of reforms, the organizers of the "roundtable." About 8 million Poles voted for the list, representing slightly less than one-half of those who voted. But this did not prove to be enough. M. Rakowski and his comrades on the national list refused to be nominated for a second time.

And the result now is that people who went through a lot for the sake of "Polish restructuring" are not to be found in the Sejm, let alone the Senate, and this is regretted even in "Solidarity" as a matter of fact.

The elections have produced a situation whereby, if the deployment of forces in the parliament were to be literally complied with, there will be no reason to expect any productive advance in implementing the policy of reforms. Everyone realizes this. So what is to be done now—remain captives of the situation? This is why the PZPR is offering, as a way out, the idea of a broad postelection coalition. This is what M. Orzechowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, one of the few leaders who became Sejm deputies, told the newspaper ZYCIE WARSZAWY: "I perceive as realistic the achievement of a parliamentary agreement which would make it possible to form a sort of government of national confidence comprising representatives of all political forces in parliament."

Now, Orzechowski went on, is not the time to divide society into "camps"—the "authorities' camp" and the "opposition camp."

But "Solidarity" is sticking to its old view: We will not join in the government, we will remain in opposition—a constructive opposition, it is true. There is still a lack of realization that if the PZPR has no monopoly of power then it does not have a monopoly of responsibility, either. In an interview with the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL Lech Walesa (who did not run for election) said: "As the opposition we will support the government's reformist steps both in the economy and in politics. On the other hand, we will boycott all actions by the government which run counter to our efforts for the sake of pluralism and democracy. In other words, we want to be an opposition, but an opposition which not only observes and criticizes but also backs the renewal of the state. An opposition which is learning."

Judging by everything, the process of learning will continue through 1993, when the next parliamentary elections are due—this time on the basis of a free contest for all deputies' mandates. At that time the opposition, "Solidarity"—from which new parties will have sprouted by that time—will attempt to take the helm. For the time being, as L. Walesa said, "Solidarity" is an unnatural being which is good only in times of struggle since it unites sundry political streams. Walesa still does not know whether he would be supporting W. Jaruzelski's candidacy for the office of president. Nonetheless, he has let it be understood that he perceives this as the most reasonable of all options. Time is pressing. The top leader of the Polish People's Republic is due to meet U.S. President Bush toward the end of the first 10 days in July.

Hungary's Beck, in Moscow, Speaks on Accounting

LD0107201589 Budapest MTI in English 1602 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, July 1 (MTI)—We should switch from the Bucharest price principle and the rigid accounting system between the CMEA countries to a more flexible account practice, for the current system is not suited for the future—said Hungarian Minister of Trade Tamas Beck, who paid a brief visit to Moscow over the weekend. Mr Beck reviewed the state and prospects of bilateral commercial and economic relations. Discussing his negotiations, Mr Beck said experts see four possibilities to change the accounting practice. One is the cash-accounting system in dollars, the second is accounting in clearing dollars. Another possibility is to apply the so-called Finnish method, used in Soviet-Finnish goods turnover, and the last is the application of a modernized transferable rouble.

Experts are investigating the consequences of the switch to the various methods, and the losses that would temporarily afflict the Hungarian economy in the transition period. Mr Beck added that these issues were also discussed during his meeting with Konstantin Katushev, minister of external economic relations. In Hungary, a government committee headed by the deputy prime minister is examining the problem. Hungary considers the switch-over to be timely around 1991.

Hungarian Worker's Party Decisions Noted

PM2806153589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by F. Lukyanov in Budapest and B. Rodionov in Moscow: "How to Unite the Party: Decisions of Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) Central Committee Plenum Published"]

[Text] A record number of speakers—92—addressed the MSZMP Central Committee plenum which was to adopt a dramatic decision: how to strengthen the clearly weakening prestige of the party in society and how to unite a party torn by internal contradictions on the threshold of a difficult election campaign which will be conducted on a multiparty basis.

The plenum decided to convene a party congress ahead of schedule—on 7 October. On the instructions of the commission headed by prominent party figure J. Fock, the post of chairman of the MSZMP, left vacant since the

retirement on pension of J. Kadar, has been filled. The importance of this post is demonstrated by the simple fact that the Chairman of the MSZMP will direct sessions of the Central Committee and the Political Executive Bureau. The plenum approved the proposal of the commission, which nominated Rezso Nyers.

R. Nyers is 66 and a politician of standing, who has often been called the "father of the 1968 Hungarian economic reform." According to a public opinion poll conducted on the eve of the plenum, it is Nyers (together with Premier M. Nemeth) who currently enjoys the greatest trust both within the party and among the alternative, opposition parties and organizations.

A product of the left-wing social democratic movement, Nyers immediately entered the political leadership after the unification of the workers' parties. In November 1956 he worked as extraordinary commissioner for food supply in the first Kadar government. He has been a member of the MSZMP Central Committee since 1957. From 1967 to 1975 he was a member of the Central Committee Politburo. After the "decline" ["otliv"] of the economic reform in the seventies, Nyers, while remaining a member of the Central Committee, became head of the Economic Sciences Institute and was a parliamentary deputy, where he directed the work of important commissions. In May 1988 he again became a member of the Central Committee Politburo. He is a Minister of State. As chairman of the MSZMP Nyers will head the party delegation at the nationwide roundtable talks with the opposition. R. Nyers is well-known in the country as a principled supporter of economic and political reforms and a politician whose actions are marked by realism and balance.

K. Grosz, despite the sharp criticism of him and even demands for his resignation, retains the post of General Secretary of the MSZMP until the Congress. However, the General Secretary will now have to work within a narrow four-man party Presidium (R. Nyers, M. Nemeth, K. Grosz, and I. Pozsgay).

I. Pozsgay is the leader of the reformist wing of the party who has won broad popularity by his open and uncompromising struggle against the "Stalinist model" and its supporters. The plenum recommended him for the supreme state post of President of Hungary who, by all accounts, will be endowed with quite broad powers. Many party members criticize Pozsgay sharply for his broad interpretation of "Stalinism," his reluctance to take account of rank and file communists who do not share his views, and for his public pronouncements, including in the foreign mass media, which differ from the assessments adopted by the MSZMP Central Committee. It was Pozsgay who first put forward the thesis that the tragically conflicting events of 1956 could be unambiguously characterized as a "people's uprising." Within the party Pozsgay has headed the "reform societies" movement, which the General Secretary initially viewed as factional. Now, however, the "reform societies" have won considerable prestige in party organizations.

The acute conflicts within the MSZMP's ranks and the outright danger of the party's split were openly mentioned on the eve of the plenum. NEPSZABADSAG carried an open letter to the MSZMP Central Committee from a large group of party intellectuals. The letter expressed the hope that the plenum will confirm the commitment to the theoretical legacy of Marxism-Leninism and to European and national traditions and at the same time will reject once and for all Stalinist ideological and political practices and consolidate the course of switching to a multiparty system. There has been broad support from party organizations for the letter, whose authors declared their rejection of the manifestations of extremism and stressed the need for unity in the party's ranks around the powerful unifying reformist center despite the differences of platform.

Judging by the plenum resolution published on Monday, the plenum has confirmed that socialism in Hungary can be put into practice only within the framework of the new economic and political model. The party's goal is democratic socialism, a state system based on the rule of law, parliamentary democracy built on a multiparty system, as well as a market economy based on the determining role of public ownership. The MSZMP is committed to the values of Marxism and to left-wing, socialist, humanist ideas.

The plenum stated that the confrontation which has occurred among different tendencies and platforms in the MSZMP's ranks is largely due to the lack of a political synthesis of these trends. In that regard attention should be paid to the plenum's decision to considerably expand the composition of the Politburo—from 9 members to 21—which will henceforth be called the Political Executive Bureau. The newly elected organ will include party workers of the new mold [novaya formatsiya], managers, and representatives of creative and scientific circles.

The plenum in its resolution expressed solidarity with the reforms in the Soviet Union. It resolutely condemned the manifestations of anti-Sovietism which occurred mainly during the ceremonial reburial of the remains of Imre Nagy and others involved in his case and also the attempts to portray the MSZMP as the main obstacle to democratic transformations in the country.

PRAVDA on Hungary's Workers Party Resolution
PM2906084789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "MSZMP Central Committee Plenum Resolution"]

[Text] A Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party [MSZMP] Central Committee Plenum resolution has been published here on the party's position and political aims. It

points out that since the Hungarian National Party Conference the MSZMP has been transforming itself into a truly political movement and has taken resolute steps to democratize the political system, create a rule-of-law state, and speed up economic reform.

The fact that Hungary's efforts correspond with the activity of a number of communist parties and socialist countries and are meeting with support from a sizeable proportion of international public opinion strengthens and stimulates the MSZMP. The same can be said about the considerable majority of people in Hungarian society who are conscious of the need for democratic socialism.

At the same time the resolution also mentions the views of MSZMP members who see the inevitable change in the model of socialism as equivalent to a departure from it. Some groupings oppose multiparty representative democracy and a socialist-type economy with mixed forms of ownership and call into question Hungary's extensive ties with the world economy.

The document goes on to stress that the MSZMP Central Committee condemns most resolutely anti-Soviet views, which threaten the country's interests, and also attempts to use the national process of restoring historical justice to achieve aims that contravene the spirit of social reconciliation.

The MSZMP is in sympathy with the reforms being mounted in the Soviet Union, which also back up the process of Hungarian renewal.

The document indicates that the Central Committee confirms that socialism in Hungary can only be implemented within the framework of new economic and political models. The party's aim is democratic socialism, a rule-of-law state, parliamentary democracy based on a multiparty system, and also a market economy based on the crucial role of social ownership. The MSZMP is committed to Marxist values and left-wing, socialist, and humanist ideas. The renewed party is endeavoring to become a force advocating a new synthesis of communist and social democratic values and serving the interests of workers and the whole nation.

In the opinion of the MSZMP Central Committee, under current international conditions Hungary must act as a member of the Warsaw Pact in the interests of mutual reductions in armed forces and arms and the simultaneous disbandment of the military blocs. The resolution indicates in conclusion that the continuation of the multilateral and balanced development of Hungary's international ties and its closer involvement in economic and spiritual development throughout the world, above all in Europe, is of fundamental importance.

Chebrikov Receives Romania's Ceausescu

PM0607144389 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under general rubric: "Official Reports"]

[Text] V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, received 3 July Lieutenant General I. Ceausescu, member of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee, deputy minister of National Defense of the Socialist Republic of Romania [SRR], and secretary of the Higher Political Council of the SRR Army, who has arrived in the Soviet Union at the head of a delegation of political workers at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. A friendly conversation was held in which Army General A.D. Lizichev took part.

I. Bucur, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the SRR to the USSR, was present during the conversation.

Zaykov Receives Bucharest Party Official

PM2906131989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Friendly Meeting"]

[Text] L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU City Committee, received on 28 June C. Zmeu, member of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] Central Committee and secretary of Bucharest RCP Municipal Committee, who is here heading a delegation from the Romanian capital.

The talk, which was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, discussed questions of the further strengthening of cooperation between party organizations and labor collectives in the two capitals.

Ion Bucur, Romanian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the meeting.

West Europe

Gorbachev Addresses Council of Europe in Strasbourg

Arrives in Strasbourg 6 Jul

LD0607192689 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Paris July 6 TASS—A three-day official visit to France of President Mikhail Gorbachev concluded today. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon, Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in the French city of Strasbourg, home of the Council of Europe since 1949, the oldest and most representative

West European inter-government organization. In the Palace of Europe, the Soviet president signed the Golden Book of honorable guests and met with bureau membmers of the committee of ministers of the Council of Europe, currently comprising foreign ministers of Norway, Portugal and the Netherlands.

The Soviet leader was welcomed by President of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe Anders Bjoerk of Sweden. He emphasized that Mikhail Gorbachev is the first head of an East-European state to address representatives of the parliaments of the 23 member-countries of the council. As a sign of respect for the guest Bjoerk spoke part of his address in Russian.

Mikhail Gorbachev then addressed the deputies of the Parliamentary Assembly. [passage omitted]

After the lunch in the Rohan Palace given in honor of the Soviet president on behalf of the PACE [Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe] President Mikhail Gorbachev left for Bucharest, capital of Romania to take part in the work of the regular session of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries.

Speech to Council of Europe

LD0607131489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1117 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, to the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly in Strasbourg on 6 July—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen! I am grateful for the invitation to speak here, in one of the epicenters of European politics and the European idea. We can probably view this meeting also as a proof that the all-European process is a reality and that it is moving forward. Now, when the 20th century is entering the concluding phase, when the post-war period and the cold war are becoming things of the past, a unique chance indeed is opening to Europeans to play a roled worthy of their past, their economic and intellectual potential, and to construction a new world.

The world community now, more than ever before, is subject to profound changes. Many of its components are at the turning points of their destiny. The material basis of life, its spiritual parameters are changing sharply. New and more and more powerful factors of progress are springing up. But alongside them, and in their wake, threats linked with this very progress continued to exist and even to grow. It is necessary, it is inevitably necessary to do everything that is possible within the limits of the present day intellect so that man can continue the role destined for him on this Earth and perhaps in the universe, so that he can adapt himself to the stressful newness of the present day existence and win in the struggle for the survival of the present and also future generations. This concerns all of mankind, but it is three times true of Europe, in the sense of the historical responsibility, in the sense of the acuteness and immediate nature of the problems, and tasks, and in the sense of possibilities alike.

A feature of the situation in Europe is also that in order to deal with all of this, to justify the hopes of its peoples and to fulfill its international duty in a new stage of world history, it can do so only by recognizing its integral nature and drawing the correct conclusions. In the 1920's, the theory on the decline of Europe was in wide circulation, and even today this theme is fashionable among some people here and there. We do not share the pessimism over the future of Europe. Earlier than others, Europe experienced the consequences of the internationalization of first economic and then all of public life. The interdependence of countries as a higher stage of the process of internationalization made itself felt earlier here than in other parts of the world.

On more than one occasion, Europe has experienced attempts to unite it by force, but it also knows noble dreams about the voluntary democratic community of European peoples. Viktor Hugo said the day will come when you, France, you, Russia, you, Italy, you, Britain, you, Germany, all of you, all of the nations of the continent, without losing your distinctive features and your splendid originality, will all indissolubly merge into a kind of higher society and will form a European fraternity. The day will come when the only field of battle will be markets open for trade and minds open to ideas. It is now too little to simply ascertain the community of destiny and the interdependence of European states. The idea of European unity should be collectively thought through afresh, in the process of co-authorship of all nations, large, medium and small. Is this formulation of the question a realistic one?

I know many people in the West see the main difficulty in the existence of two social systems. But the difficulty consists rather in something else, in a quite widespread conviction and even a political directive whereby what is meant by the overcoming of the division of Europe is the overcoming of socialism. But this is a course for confrontation, if not something worse. With attitudes like these there will be no European unity whatsoever.

The membership of the European states in various social systems is a reality and recognition of this historic fact, respect for each people's sovereign right to chose a social system as it sees fit, represents a most important precondition for a normal European process. Social and political orders of one country or another changed in the past and may change in the future as well. However, that is exclusively the affair of the peoples themselves. It is their choice. Any interference in internal affairs of whatever kind, any attempts to limit the sovereignty of states, both of friends and allies, no matter whose it is, is impermissible.

The differences between states cannot be eliminated. As I have repeatedly said, they are even beneficial, on the condition, of course, that the competition between different types of society is oriented towards the creation of better material and spiritual living conditions for people. Thanks to restructuring, the USSR will be fully able to participate in such an honest, equitable, and constructive competition. All the present shortcomings and the lagging behind notwithstanding, we are quite familiar with the strong aspects of our social system which proceed from its essential characteristics, and we are convinced that we will succeed in implementing them for our own benefit and that of Europe.

It is time to put the postulates of the Cold War in the archives when Europe was regarded as an arena of confrontation, dismembered into spheres of influence and someone's forward defensive positions as an object of military confrontation, a theater of military actions. In the present interconnected world, geopolitical concepts born of another epoch turn out to be just as helpless in real politics as the laws of classical mechanics are in the quantum theory. Meanwhile, precisely on the basis of stereotypes that are obsolete, some people continue, though to a lesser extent, to suspect the Soviet Union of hegemonistic plans and of intentions of tearing the United States away from Europe. And there are some who are not averse even to placing the USSR outside Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, restricting its area to that between Brest and Brest. [as heard] The USSR is supposedly too great to live with. Others will, so it is said, not feel very comfortable next to it.

The realities of the present day and the prospects for the visible future are obvious. The USSR and the United States are a natural part of the European international political structure. And their participation in its evolution is not only justified but also historically conditioned. Any other approach is unacceptable. And it will not yield anything anyway. Over the course of the centuries, Europe was making and has made an irreplaceable contribution to world politics, economics, culture, and to the development of civilization. Its worldwide historical role is recognized and respected everywhere.

However, let us also not forget either that the metastases of colonial slavery spread throughout the world from Europe. It was here that fascism was born. It was here that the most destructive wars began. And the Europe which can legitimately be pround of its accomplishments at the same time, has far from paid its debts to mankind yet. This still remains to be done, to be done by striving to achieve a transformation of international relations in the spirit of humanism, equality, and justice, by providing an example of democracy and social achievements in its own countries.

The Helsinki process already began this great work of worldwide significance. Vienna and Stockholm took it to fundamentally new levels. The documents which were adopted there are the optimal expression today for political culture and moral traditions among the European peoples.

Now all of us, all the participants in the European process, must make the fullest use of the precondition created by our common labor. And our idea of a common European home serves this. It was born also with the recognition of the new realities and with the understanding that the linear continuation of the path along which inter-European relations had developed right up until the last quarter of the 20th century no longer meets these realities. The idea is linked with our internal economic and political restructuring for which new relations were needed, above all in that part of the world in which we, the Soviet Union, belong, and with which we have been linked more than with any other in the course of centuries.

We also took account of the fact that the colossal burden of armaments, the atmosphere of confrontation, not only hindered the normal development of Europe but at the same time economically, politically, and psychologically impeded the full involvement of our country in the European process and introduced deforming impulses into our own development.

These are the motives according to which we decided to make our European policy much more active. Incidentally it had the most precious significance for us.

In the course of meetings with European leaders in recent times, questions about both the architecture of the common home and methods of its construction and also its furnishing were touched upon. Conversations on this topic in Moscow and Paris with President Francois Mitterrand were fruitful and extremely comprehensive. But even today I do not claim that I have in my pocket a completed design for this home. I will tell you only about the most important thing from my point of view. In essence, the issue is that of restructuring the existing international order in Europe in such a way that will resolutely bring to the forefront all-European values that will permit the replacement of the traditional balance of forces by a balance of interests.

What specifically is worth mentioning in the connection? First of all the questions of security. Within the framework of the new thinking we have started with a critical reinterpretation of our notion of military confrontation in Europe, the scale of the external threat, the importance of the factor of force, and the strengthening of security. This has not come easily, and sometimes painfully. But as a result, decisions have been adopted which permit the removal of East-West relations from the vicious circle of action and counteraction.

Indisputably, the initial and important role was played here by the joint Soviet-U.S. efforts in the sphere of nuclear disarmament. The treaty on medium and shorter-range missiles has received not only approval from Europeans but was also assisted by many in its conclusion. The Vienna talks have opened a new stage, new in principle in the process of reducing armaments. Not only two powers but 23 states are now taking part in

them. All 35 participants in the all-European process continue to work out measures for military confidence, and although the two processes of talks are taking place in different buildings, they are closely linked with each other. In the cause of construction of the European peace there are no outsiders, nor can there be. Here, all are equal partners and every one, including neutral and nonaligned countries, bears their own share of responsibility in the face of their peoples and Europe.

The philosophy of the concept of the all-European home excludes the probability of armed confrontation, the very possibility of the use of force or the threat of force, above all military—alliance against alliance, within an alliance, wherever it might be. In place of the doctrine of deterrence it proposes the doctrine of restraint. And this is not a play on concepts but the logic of European development dictated by life itself.

Our goals at the Vienna talks are well-known. We consider as completely achieveable—the U.S. President also speaks in favor of this—a substantial reduction in the course of 2 or 3 years of the level of armaments in Europe, naturally accompanied by the liquidation of all asymmetries and imbalances. I stress, of all asymmetries and imbalances. No double standards are permissible here.

We are convinced that it is also time to begin talks on tactical nuclear weapons between all interested countries. The final goal here is the complete elimination of this weaponry. It threatens not only Europeans, who are certainly not preparing to fight against each other. So why is it needed and who needs it? To liquidate nuclear arsenals or to preserve them at any cost. That is the question. Does the strategy of nuclear deterrence strengthen or undermine stability? On these questions the positions of NATO and the Warsaw Pact look diametrically opposed. But we are not dramatizing the divergences. We ourselves are seeking and we invite our partners to seek a way out. For we regard the liquidation of nuclear weapons as a stage-by-stage process. And Europeans can cover part of the distance together, separating us from the complete destruction of nuclear weapons, without abandoning their own positions, and with the USSR remaining true to nuclear-free ideals, and the West to the concept of minimal deterrence.

But it is worth investigating. What stands behind the concept of minimal? And where, here, is the limit beyond which the potential for nuclear retribution is converted into the potential for an attack? Here there is much that is unclear, and that which is left unsaid is a source of mistrust. Why should experts from the United States, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, and France, and also from the states on whose territory the nuclear weapons are located, not hold an in-depth discussion of these questions? If they came to some common assessments, then the problem would be simplified on the political level, too.

If it is evident that the NATO countries are inclined to enter into talks with us concerning tactical nuclear weapons, then we could—having, of course, consulted our allies—go without delay for further unilateral reductions of our tactical nuclear missiles which are in Europe. The Soviet Union and the other countries of the Warsaw Pact, outside of any tie with the Vienna talks, are already unilaterally reducing their armed forces and armaments on the territory of Europe. The structure and the combat composition are changing in accordance with the defense doctrine of reasonable sufficiency. And this doctrine, both from the viewpoint of the quantity of armaments and troops and from the viewpoint of deployment, training, and the whole military activity, rules out the physical possibility of carrying out attacks and waging large-scale offensive operations.

From this year we have started reductions in military expenditures. In any event, as was stated in the USSR Supreme Soviet, if the situation permits, our intention is to sharply reduce our expenditures on defense as a proportion of national income by a factor of 1 ½ to 2 times by the year 1995.

We have set about seriously to convert the military industry to peaceful activities. All countries taking part in the all-European process will come up against this problem in one way or another. We are willing to exchange opinions and experience. And we think that it is also possible to use the possibilities of the United Nations to set up, say, within the European Economic Commission, a joint working group to carry out research into the problems of this conversion.

I would like to mention once again in front of European parliamentarians, and hence in front of the whole of Europe, our simple and clear positions on the issues of disarmament. They are the result of the new thinking and have been set down in legislative form on behalf all our people in the decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. We are in favor of a nuclear-free world, for the elimination of all kinds of nuclear weapons by the beginning of the next century.

We are in favor of the complete liquidation of chemical weapons in the nearest future and the destruction for all time of the production base for the creation of such weapons. We are in favor of a radical reduction in conventional armaments and armed forces to the level of a reasonable defense sufficiency, excluding the use of military force against other states for the purpose of attack. We are in favor of the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territories of other countries. We are categorically opposed to the creation of any space weapons. We are in favor of the liquidation of military blocs and the urgent evolvement of a political dialogue between them for this purpose and for the creation of an atmosphere of trust, excluding any kind of unexpected moves.

We are in favor of thorough, consistent and effective monitoring of all treaties and agreements which might be concluded on questions of disarmament. I am convinced that it has long been high time for the people of Europe to conduct their policy and their behavior in accordance with the new common sense—not to prepare for war, not to intimidate one another, not to compete in further improving arms, and especially not to compete in attempts to gain compensation for the reductions which they have begun, but to learn jointly how to create peace and to lay together the solid foundations for it.

If security is the foundation of the common European home then its significant cornerstone is all-round cooperation. The intensive dialogue between states, both bilateral and multilateral, has, in recent years, become a sign of the new situation in Europe, and indeed in the world. The network of agreements, treaties and other accords has widened considerably. Official consultations on various issues have become customary.

For the first time contacts have been established between NATO and the Warsaw Pact and between the EEC and the CEMA, not to mention many political and public organizations from both parts of Europe. We received with satisfaction the decision of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe to grant the Soviet Union the status of a specially-invited state. We are ready to cooperate, but we think that one can go even further by joining certain international conventions of the Council of Europe which are open to other states on ecology, culture, education, and television broadcasting. We are ready to cooperate with specialized establishments in the Council of Europe. The parliamentary assembly, the Council of Europe, and the European Parliament are located in Strasbourg, and if our ties expand and become regular we, with the agreement of the French Government, it goes without saying, would go for opening our general consulate here. Interparliamentary ties are of undoubtedly major significance for adding dynamism to the common European process.

An important step has already been taken. At the end of last year the first meeting took place in Warsaw of the parliamentary leaders of 35 states. We gave due appraisal to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe delegation's visit to the USSR, headed by its chairman Mr Bjoerck. I hope that it was able to feel for itself, as the saying goes, the strong and sharp pulse of Soviet restructuring. We consider the contacts which have begun with the European Parliament to be very important. By the way, we drew attention on its resolution on military and political questions in which, in its own appraisal, lies the nucleus of the West European consensus in the sphere of security.

In this connection I can't help saying something about West European defense plans. Of course any state and any association of states has the right to be concerned about its security in those forms which they consider to be appropriate for them. It is important only that these forms should not enter into contradiction with the positive tendencies of the times, tendencies toward military detente. And they should not lead to the revival of confrontational initiatives in European policy, therefore to a new arms race too. The holding in about 18-24 months time of the second Helsinki conference is also being proposed more and more urgently.

For the present generation of leaders from European countries, the United States, and Canada, apart from the most topical questions, it is time to discuss how they see subsequent stages in the movement toward the European Community in the 21st century, and the economic content of a common European home. We consider realistic, although not close, the prospect of forming a vast economic area, from the Atlantic to the Urals, with a high degree of mutual ties between the eastern and western parts of that area.

The Soviet Union's transition to a more open economy possesses in this sense a fundamental significance, and not only for ourselves, for raising the effectiveness of the national economy and satisfying consumers' requirements. It intensifies the interdependence of the economies of the East and West and consequently will have a beneficial effect on the whole complex of overall European relations. Similar traits in the practical functioning of economic mechanisms, the strengthening of links and economic interest, mutual adaptation, the training of appropriate experts—all these are long-term factors in cooperation and a pledge of stability within the overall European and international process.

My contacts during my tours with authoritative representatives within the business world of Great Britain, the FRG, France, Italy, and the United States, and repeatedly in Moscow, testify to the heightened interest in doing business with us in conditions of restructuring. Many of them do not overdramatize our difficulties but take account of the particular features of the given moment when the reform is quicker at destroying redundant mechanisms than it is able to introduce new ones.

I have noticed the resolve of experienced business people with a broad political outlook to take a justified risk, to display a boldness to operate in the long term. Incidentally, not only in the interests of business but also in the interests of progress and peace, the universal interests of mankind. One also feels understanding of the fact that if one limits oneself to the commercial interests of this minute, then chances of large-scale and much more favorable long-term economic cooperation with us, as an integral factor of the overall European process, will be missed.

I think that the honorable assembly will agree that in our age economic ties divorced from scientific-technical ties are something not quite normal. But in West-East relations these latter are to a significant degree bled white by the Coordinating Committee on Export Controls of NATO [COCOM]. And if at the height of the cold war that practice could somehow have been justified, now

many bans look simply absurd. Of course, in our country, too, to tell the truth, there is excessive secrecy, but we have started to look into it. We are starting to liquidate our internal COCOM—the partitioning off of military production from civilian production, in particular in connection with conversion.

So maybe specialists and representatives of the relevant governments should come together and look into all these accumulated things born of the cold war.

Secrecy should be brought within reasonable limits which really are dictated by security, and the way should be opened for the normal two-way flow of scientific knowledge and technical skill.

Such projects, for instance, as a high-speed trans-European railway line, an all-European program for the creation of new technology and techniques for the use of solar energy, the reprocessing and storage of nuclear waste and enhancing the safety of nuclear power stations, additional channels for transmission of information using fibre optics, and an all-European satellite communications system are equally urgent both for East and West Europe.

The development of a high definition television system is exceptionally interesting. It is being carried out in a number of countries and it has a great future, also for equipping the European home. Naturally, the most well-developed and cheapest version will of course be preferred.

In Paris in 1985, President Mitterrand and I put forward the idea of developing an international thermonuclear experimental reactor. This is an inexhaustable supply of ecologically clean energy. Under the aegis of the International Atomic Energy Authority, this project, the result of the combined scientific potential of the USSR in conjunction with the countries of Western Europe, the United States, Japan, and other states is going over to the stage of practical research. According to scientific forecasts, the construction of such a reactor is possible by the end of this century. This is one of the greatest achievements of scientific thought and technological skill. It will serve the future of Europe and the whole world.

The model of economic rapprochement between East and West Europe will be determined, not in the last instance, by the relationship between the Western regional associations of the EEC and the European Free Trade Association and CEMA. Each of them has its own dynamics of development and its problems.

We have no doubt that the integrational processes in West Europe are acquiring a new quality. We are not inclined to underestimate the emergence in the next few years of a single European market. The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance has also set course for the formation of a united market, although we are lagging greatly behind here. The speed of international transformations of CEMA will to a large extent determine what will be developed more quickly in the forthcoming years—links between the CEMA and the EEC as groupings, or between individual socialist countries and the EEC. It is quite possible that from time to time, first one and then the other form will come to the foreground. It is important that both of them should blend in with the logic of the formation of an all-European economic area.

As far as the USSR is concerned, a trade and economic agreement between our country and the European Community is in the pipeline. We attach significant importance to this act, also from the viewpoint of common European interests.

Naturally, we are in no way setting our ties with the European Community against ties with other associations or states. The countries of the European Free Trade Association [EFTA] are good and old partners of ours. It would probably make sense to speak, too, about the development of relations between the CEMA and EFTA, and also to use this channel of multilateral cooperation in the construction of a new Europe.

The common European home will need to be an ecologically pure one. Life has taught us bitter lessons. Large scale ecological problems in Europe have long since outstripped national borders. The shaping of a regional system of ecological security is an urgent task. It is perfectly possible that the common European process will move quickest of all in precisely this truly priority sphere.

A first step could be the working out of a long-term continental ecological program. Our proposal to create a center for urgent ecological aid within the United Nations is well known. Such a center or agency with an early warning and control system is one which Europe desperately needs.

One might also think about establishing a common European institute for ecological research and expertise, and, in time, establishing a body with powers to make binding decisions.

According to a decision of the Vienna meeting, a forum of 35 countries on questions of ecology will be held in Sofia this fall. It would also be possible to discuss practical problems there.

Mankind is suffering ever graver losses from natural and technological disasters. Tens, sometimes hundreds of thousands of people are killed every year. Huge sums are spent on eliminating their aftermath. Scientists are sounding the alarm. The vulnerability of the largest cities to natural disasters is increasing. We are aware of large projects to combat this growing global threat. The USSR Academy of Sciences has set up its own International Institute of the Theory and Forecasting of Earthquakes, and invites scientists from all over the world to take part in creating a scientific base for problems of safety in major cities, drought prediction, and the possibility of

climatic disasters. The Soviet Union is prepared to provide for these purposes satellites, ocean-going vessels, and new machines and equipment.

It would probably be beneficial too to involve the military services of different countries, first and foremost the medical and engineering services, for international rescue and restoration activities. The humanitarian content of the common European process is a decisive one. A world in which it is possible to reduce military arsenals, but in which human rights will be violated cannot feel sure of itself. We have ourselves finally come to this conclusion and there is no turning back. The decision adopted at the Vienna meeting signifies a genuine breakthrough in this sense. A whole program of joint activities for the European countries has been outlined, packed with an extremely wide variety of measures. Mutual understanding has been achieved on many issues, which until quite recently were a stumbling block in relations between East and West. We are convinced that a reliable, law-based foundation must underlie the common European process. We think of the common European home as a law-based community, and for our part, we have started moving in that direction.

The decision of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies incidentally states that proceeding from international norms and principles, including those contained in the general declaration on human rights, the Helsinki agreements and accords, and bringing its internal legislation into line with them, the USSR will promote the establishment of a world community of law-based states. Here Europe could set an example. Naturally its international law-based integrity includes the national and social peculiarities of the states. Every European country, the United States, and Canada, has its own laws and traditions in the humanitarian sphere, although generally recognized and norms principles do exist.

It would probably be useful to draw a comparison of existing legislation on human rights, having established for that purpose either a special working group or something like a European institute of comparative humanitarian law. It is most likely that we will not attain a complete coincidence of viewpoints, taking into account the difference in the social systems. But the Vienna and the recent London and Paris conferences showed that there are common views and common approaches and these can be multiplied. This makes it possible to talk also about the possibility of creating a European law-governed area. The Soviet Union and France came out at the Paris humanitarian forum as co-authors of a corresponding initiative. The FRG, Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia also aligned themselves with the initiative. A significant expansion of cultural cooperation is needed, with deeper cooperation in the sphere of humanitarian sciences.

A new level of information exchange is needed. In a word, it is essential to intensify the process of European people getting to know each other. Television could play a special role in this, making it possible to secure contacts not just between hundreds and thousands of people, but between tens and hundreds of millions. Here there are certain dangers. They must be seen. The theater stages, screens, exhibition halls and publications, are flooded with commerical pseudoculture alien to Europe. Contempt for national language is appearing.

All this requires our common attention and joint work in the spirit of respect for genuine national values of each one. It could be a question of exchange of experience of preservation of cultural heritage, of measures for acquainting European peoples with the uniqueness of each other's contemporary culture, of collective promotion in learning languages. It could be a question of cooperation in the cause of preservation of monuments of history and culture. This could also apply to the joint production of cinema, television and video films propagandizing the achievements of national cultures and the best samples of artisitc creativity of the past and present.

Ladies and gentlemen, the people of Europe will be able to meet the challenges of the coming century only by uniting their efforts. We are convinced that they need one Europe. A peaceful and democratic Europe, retaining all of its diversity and adhering to common humanistic ideals, flourishing and extending a hand to the rest of the world; a Europe heading confidently toward tomorrow. We see our own future in such a Europe.

Restructuring, setting its aims at the deep renewal of Soviet society, also predetermines our policy, which is aimed at the development of Europe, and of Europe in just such a direction. Restructuring is changing our country, leading it on to new things. This process will go further and will deepen, transforming Soviet society in all respects, in its economy, in the social, political, and spiritual spheres, in all its internal matters, and in human relations. We have started along this path steadfastly and irreversibly. A confirmation of this is the decision by the Congress of People's Deputies on the principal directions of the domestic and foreign policies of the USSR, a document which in the name of the people has consolidated this as our choice, our path of restructuring.

I draw your attention to this decision. It has a program, revolutionary significance for the fortunes of the country, which you yourselves call a superpower. As a result of its implementation, you, your governments, parliaments, and peoples, will soon be dealing with a completely different socialist state than was the case up to the present time. This will beneficially influence—it cannot but influence, the whole world process. Thank you.

Receives Award at Luncheon

LD0707033889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] This afternoon, a luncheon was held in honor of the eminent Soviet guests. Stoltenberg, chairman of the Committee of European Ministers, delivered a speech.

He voiced a feeling of profound gratitude for the visit to the Council of Europe by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva. He described the visit as historic.

Bjoerck, chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, also spoke. He thanked the Soviet leader for the great honor of his visit to the Council of Europe. Anders Bjoerck gave a high rating to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech today in the palace of Europe. The chairman of the Parliamentary Assembly then presented to the Soviet leader with Council of Europe medal of honor, which is presented only to the most outstanding heads of state. In his response, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev thanked the chairman of the Committee of European Ministers and the chairman of the Council's Parliamentary Assembly for the award. He described it as a symbol of the cooperation that has now begun. [video shows Stoltenberg and Bjoerck speaking; Gorbachev is presented with the medal]

In the Palace of Europe, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva met with Soviet students studying in the International Space University in Strasbourg. [video shows Gorbachev and Raisa chatting to large group of students]

Further on Gorbachev's Visit to France 4-6 Jul

Mitterrand, Gorbachev Interviewed

LD0507204389 Paris Antenne 2 Television in French 1807 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Interview with USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and French President Francois Mitterrand by journalists Christine Ockrent, Georges Bortoli, and Jean-Pierre Elkabbach on 5 July in Paris; Gorbachev speaks in Russian with superimposed Franch translation—recorded]

[Text] [Ockrent] Good evening, presidents. Thank you for again receiving together Antenne-2 and Europe Number One for a special interview, which is going to allow us to go into depth on certain points which you have both raised during Mr Gorbachev's stay in Paris.

Mr Gorbachev, several times you have stressed the dangers and risks of destabilization in your part of the world. Last November in the Kremlin you told us that restructuring is irreversible. Now months later, do you believe that the situation is even more difficult than you thought?

[Gorbachev] Well, listen I think that today I am even more certain than I was a few months ago that restructuring is completely irreversible and that is confirmed by the latest big event which has taken place in the USSR, that is to say the meeting of the people's. The opinions of the whole people were expressed following the elections which took place in a unique atmosphere, an atmosphere our country has never known. Obviously, one can speak about the advantages and the disadvantages, the positive or negative sides to the campaign, but it was an immense step forward on the path of restructuring and on the path toward a normal civil life. It is really the clear proof of the irreversibility of restructuring.

[Question] Well, Mr President Gorbachev, where does the impression come from, which you read and hear about on your position being somewhat fragile? What is the greatest threat to restructuring and perhaps to you yourself today?

[Gorbachev] I do not think that one can speak of instability insofar as restructuring is concerned, insofar as a policy which was proposed by the CPSU is concerned. On the contrary, I think that since the latest campaign, since the latest congress, this policy has received a resounding confirmation. Furthermore, the CPSU general secretary was elected president by an overwhelming majority, but by a secret procedure, by secret ballot.

[Question] So, this represents progress?

[Gorbachev] Listen, yes, yes, it does represent progress. Yes, basically you are submerged by a wave of criticism, which is perhaps great. However, the facts confirm that the people want restructuring and would like this restructuring to bring tangible results in the economic field. That is how I see things.

[Question] I believe, Mr Gorbachev, that one of the main problems of restructuring is the slowness of the development of your economy. This is going to permit me to pose a question to Mr Mitterrand, perhaps. Should Europe, should France support restructuring by injecting credits and investments into the USSR?

[Mitterrand] Yes, I think it is a duty for the democratic countries to contribute as far as they can to the success of restructuring. The direction in which restructuring is moving is evident. It is an improvement for everyone, and if the Soviet Union is experiencing difficulties—and this would have to be debated—in its own development, the countries of Europe and elsewhere which wish it success must contribute to it. That is what France will do, I repeat, as far as we can.

[Question] Well there is the housewife's shopping basket, and there are also the nationalities, you are getting to....

[Gorbachev] Not only that, I would say even more so, the essential thing for the results of restructuring rests on the shoulders of our people. No one will carry out restructuring on our behalf. We alone have the responsibility for it, we alone know what we need. Of course we can solve certain problems more easily if other countries are involved on the basis of equality.

[Question] Among these problems, Mr Gorbachev, is the problem of the nationalities in the Soviet Union. There is to be a Congress of the Nationalities toward the end of July. How can a common approach be found to problems which, each time, appear so specific, and which, nevertheless, represent the same aspiration?

[Gorbachev] I think that you are familiar with my last speech, are you not? The first part of that speech is a statement of the concern which we, and the whole society feel. As for the remaining two-thirds of that speech, it is a constructive program. Possibilities exist for these problems to be solved. During the second stage of political reform, which is going to deal precisely with the republics, the local organs, the local authorities, we have very sound proposals that will enable us to discuss it and do something.

But specifically I would say this. We believe that our situation is unique at the moment, unique in the world as a whole, and despite the negative aspects which have manifested themselves, our union has existed for more than 70 years. We have, however, traveled a very long path. We have developed cultures, economies, we have restored equality. Do not forget that in the month of the revolution our people were not at the same time level of development, and now there is a sort of amalgam, fusion from the point of view of the economy and culture and, basically, our people have mixed together. There is not a single republic in our country where there are not at least about a dozen nationalities. That is why we think—and this is important, so I am stressing it—that the path toward solving the problem lies in developing the union and in developing the republics, whose sovereignty must be strengthened. Their rights, their autonomy must be extended. The rights of the minorities must be guaranteed. The culture in these republics must be developed, by basing ourselves on what has been achieved instead of destroying it. Thus, during the second stage, we can go further.

[Question] By dialogue, Mr President, by means other than violence?

[Gorbachev] Yes, naturally, on the basis of democracy, on the basis of constitutional amendments, which will be made completely in accordance with the law, according to democratic processes. It is thus that the changes will be made. It is natural that in such a situation unstable elements arise, and we want to beware of them and to protect restructuring from them. If restructuring suffers, the interests of the people will also suffer.

[Elkabbach] During the visit, both of you said repeatedly that the post-war period has run its course. As European Community president for 6 months, is it your impression that you can extend relations between an independent, strong, autonomous Western Europe and the Soviet Union, and that the European process, which leads up to the end of the century, can be developed?

[Mitterrand] This conversation is nearing its end. I think it is interesting for French people to hear, above all, the opinion of our guest, of the USSR president, a great people, a union of great nations, who represent a great history. He is with us, we hear him, and receive him with great interest. So, the problems affecting the development of restructuring, as he said himself, they are within Soviet sovereignty. It could be said that it is their business, but it is also ours. It is their business, but everything that happens there is of concern to the rest of the world. Likewise, the real problem of the nationalities in this immense country, with the differing degrees of development which were pointed out a moment ago. It is their problem, but it also affects us, since the repercussions of order or disorder, stability or not, in the Soviet Union, also is in control of the balance in the rest of the world.

There is a third point I will stress. The process of peace which goes forward through disarmament is of just as much concern to France as to the Soviet Union. From this point of view I will reply to your question, the existence of the European Community, which I currently chair, its strengthening. Its cohesion can contribute powerfully to the development of the peace process in Europe and in the world. We represent 320 million inhabitants. We have a powerful economy, we are the leading trade power, and we are the direct neighbors of the Soviet Union. Consequently, and I stress this point, many things depend on the Soviet Union at home, and on its leader. It is a matter for that people, many things are common to us.

[Ockrent] Exactly, Mr Mitterrand, concerning China, you mentioned widely shared concerns during the news conference just now. Might one imagine, you both made a joint statement, both of you, on Lebanon, which is rare in our diplomatic practice, might one have imagined a form of joint statement on the events in China?

[Mitterrand] Everything can be imagined. It was not done as a written and published statement, but I think that on many points, we shared the same feelings. That said, USSR policy is not French policy, and vice versa. What I say is my strong regret, regret is a diplomatic term, with regard to what is a sort of regression, a serious setback in the development, the evolution of contemporary China. I consider it a wound for world balance, but above all, for the Chinese people. We did not, however, aim to agree in this meeting which lasted several hours, certainly, but not long enough to encompass all the problems of the world, to a joint statement on this subject. Perhaps there will be one some day.

[Question] Mr Mitterrand, last winter you received Mr Walesa in Paris. Would Mr Gorbachev receive Mr Walesa in Moscow to show his approval of this fast democratization under way in Poland?

[Gorbachev] I have already answered this question at the news conference. Well, in brief, I repeat that we have exellent relations with our neighbor Poland. We have

intense contacts at all levels, economic, cultural, tourist, etc,. These contacts are increasing. New elements are added every day. New representatives of political institutions emerge. I do not see any inconvenience for such a visit in the context of trade union exchanges, why not organizing such a visit?

[Question] A question on the contrast, if you do not mind. Romania is not an example of fast developing democratization. Tomorrow, after leaving France, you will go to Bucharest. Is Mr Ceausescu not a bit of an embarrasing, cumbersone ally?

[Gorbachev] Do not attach character references to countries. We are in a way the senior countries among these other countries. I have no right to judge the Romanian people. It is up to the Romanian people to resolve their own domestic problems and modern Romania certainly deserves it.

[Question] Mr Gorbachev, you talked about the bicentenary and yesterday you saw the Bastille. Is the Berlin Wall not one of the last Bastilles of today, and will historical conditions soon be met for it to disappear?

[Gorbachev] Do you think you have asked me a difficult question?

[Uidentified interviewer] No.

[Gorbachev] Many things appeared in Europe after World War II. There was the cold war, but the cold war is over. The cold war is now being forgotten. I think the wall is not in fact the hardest obstacle for the building of the common European home. The real obstacle is that when there are 2 million people there armed to the teeth. Do not put aside fundamental issues. Metaphors are necessary for journalists. Now that Europe is taking a turn, I ask you to rethink your questions.

[Mitterrand] We are going to have to close this conversation and you have spoken a lot along the lines of: What do you have to do together? Even though it may be very interesting to do so, we must not wander throughout the whole planet. What we have to do together first is build a solid French-Soviet relationship, a peaceful and constructive one. Then we must defend peace and thus ensure that there is controlled and simultaneous disarmament, with our eyes wide open. We must also build Europe, our common continent. There you are, we have many things to do together. We do not have everything to do together. Then the Soviets have to do what they have to do together and in their own country over matters concerning them. I think that this will allow some categorization of the order of your questions.

[Ockrent] If you will allow, a last point which is very much in the spotlight: the Soviet MiG which crashed in Belgium yesterday after having crossed this future joint home, these two Europes. Mr Gorbachev, what interpretation do you place on it?

[Gorbachev] Well, I regret this incident. The Belgians know this, moreover, and the Belgians know the causes of the accident and we have passed on our condolences. Obviously, this kind of accident can happen but it is better to avoid them altogether. I am taking advantage of this meeting with the president of France to congratulate the French people on the occasion of the great bicentenary, the grand jubilee of the French Revolution. We are happy to be here on this occasion. We are happy to share your joy and we would like to stress our deep respect for France and the people of France.

[Unidentified interviewer] Thank you, Mr Gorbachev.

[Ockrent] Presidents, we thank you.

Gorbachev Answers Questions at Sorbonne

LD0607220989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Jul 89

["Question and answer" session with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, following his speech at the Sorbonne in Paris on 5 July; questions superimposed with Russian translation—recorded]

[Text] [Unidentified voice] I would like to ask a question about China. I would like your assessment of the events in Tiananmen Square. Some of the Soviet reactions were so measured that some analysts in the West were whispering that this was a demonstration of the Soviet country's desire not to compromise relations with China at a delicate moment. I would like your assessment.

[Words indistinct] you are undertaking in your country has undoubtedly led to serious social difficulties which have resulted in events such as those in Georgia. If your reform leads to events like those in Tienanman Square, what will your attitude be?

[Gorbachev] Regarding the first question, I would describe our reaction as well-considered and responsible. As for the events which have taken place and are taking place in China, it is based first and foremost on what I have already said, all the more so since it is all very important when we are dealing with such a huge civilization as China—1.1 million and more people.

So, the world—and this is a particular feature of the modern world—is first at a stage of profound changes. This world is changing in all sectors of the economy, and these changes encompass all social systems, even if someone wants to say that it does not change, so that this world and these achievements of this world are a shining city on the hill. All countries and peoples change. But these changes are all the more significant when they encompass countries like China and the Soviet Union—I think you will agree with that—by virtue of objective reality and the weight and influence of these states on our civilization. We want success for the Chinese people. We have always wanted this. Even when our relations

were chilly, to put it mildly, and alienated altogether, we never adopted a viewpoint whereby we went about expressing disrespect for China, its history, its present and its future.

Now this enormous world in this country is changing, and, as it seems to me, we all find it impressive—the direction in which it is changing. Evidently, like all genuine in-depth changes, they are not merely like stucco-work from which, after the rain, the whitewash or other paints have been washed away. No, revolutionary changes are under way. This is accompanied not just by joys and achievements, but also by a painful process and a discovery of one's own history, in which not everything was always successful, to put it mildly.

That is how I see China today. Where China goes, in what direction, will be of great significance for determining where our world will go. We would all like it to go along the road of renewal, toward a peaceful China, plugged into the economy and present-day world civilization in general, and maintaining normal relations not just with its neighbors, but also with all states and peoples, while organizing its life in the manner and in the forms that the Chinese people see fit. Here we are approaching the fact that all people have the right to choose, and that means the right to organize their life in accordance with this choice. If the Chinese people have made this choice and, via revolutions and changes, are advancing toward this choice, there will no doubt be difficulties on this road. They already exist. There will be a quest. There will be mistakes and failures. I can say this drawing on my own experience. There will also be painful phenomena. And there will be things that we do not want, yet they happen.

Not everything can be foreseen and calculated. This will happen because in-depth changes affect the real interests of all social groups and every individual. When fundamental interests are affected, it means that in-depth changes are under way, serious changes. That's the way it is. It doesn't all proceed calmly, over a bottle of Beaujolais.

These are probably the stages for major thoughts, searches, comparisons, dissillusionments. That is all. Such moments occur. So this is the first thing on which our reactions and evaluations of what happened in China were based. The second thing is that we must trust each other's peoples as well as each other. Without this there will be no harmony, cooperation, new age, new civilisation, and no period of peace. We cannot interfere and give direct advice. Nevertheless, being in China, and then in the Soviet Union and at the Congress of People's Deputies, we spoke out. We said that we were in favor of the most acute problems being resolved on the basis of a political dialogue between the leadership, the authorities and their people, the young people and the intelligentsia. This is our assertion. Our position remains, and this is not an instruction, this is not even advice, it is our thought. The Chinese may make use of it or they may not.

This is how we would approach things. Otherwise I might now dedicate the second part of this meeting to teaching you, to giving you advice about how you should live in France. I think that this would be simply surprising for you, and by the 2d minute—or in any case, perhaps by the 10th minute—you would have left this hall. We trust the French people, who have such experience and history, and who today have at their disposal all the opportunities to find a solution to all the questions facing them, both today and tomorrow.

Why should we not trust the Soviet Union and China? We should trust them. This is the main thing on which our evaluations are based. You will say: Do we feel any regret, or do we not feel any regret that these events involved human casualties? I think that it is hard to imagine that... [pauses] I do not even want to allow you to imagine us as people who do not feel this pain, this tragedy. Nevertheless we welcome the fact that now there is some degree of seeming calm, an atmosphere is forming in which there will be... [pauses] the possibility will appear for continuing the revolution, for continuing the changes, and continuing the search for resolving those problems which were voiced at this square. This is my answer.

I think that from these arguments also follows the answer to the second half of the question, or rather to the second question, and therefore I will limit myself to this.

[Question] [Michel Laussage] University of Paris I. Mr President, you have now become a two-fold person in so much as you are simultaneously the chairman of the Supreme Soviet and the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. I would like to ask whether the chairman of the Supreme Soviet can give instructions to the general secrtary of the party, or on the other hand, whether the general secretary of the party gives instructions to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, or whether both these people coordinate the best solutions to the problems which confront the state.

[Gorbachev] Thank you. Such good questions. Gentlemen, we must all distance ourselves from such an outlook on the world, where we see it either in black or in white. I believe that the world in which we live, and even more so the future world, is much more complex and multifaceted, and in this world there are very complicated interweavings of many kinds of challenges, trends, phenomena and, all the more so, fates. So only dialectics which recognize the complex interconnection and establish a certain dependence and causality can save us. You know, in terms of this approach the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet successfully coexist.

I do not think that this combination, this conjunction, will remain like this. I have already talked about this. I am convinced, however, and I have demonstrated this most passionately, that this is now essential. It is essential for us to be able to consolidate society on the policy

of restructuring. In this case, the leader of the party that proposed the policy of restructuring, who receives competence for state bodies and all the more so through the new forms of supreme power, from the Congress of People's Deputies, receives additional opportunities to act with greater perseverance and to do so together with his comrades-in-arms precisely in pursuit of greater success and most rapid progress along the path of restructuring.

So this is, I think, now generally acknowledged in our society, although critical judgements have remained on this account.

I do not know how the question of combining things like this will be resolved on the level of the republics and regional and local bodies. A fairly animated debate is currently taking place on this, and we have granted people in the republics, oblasts, towns, and rayons an opportunity to democratically—which is the way we do things now—decide for themselves how they will operate. I will let you in on a secret. The general secretary proffers timely advice to the USSR Supreme Soviet chairman, and the CPSU Central Committee general secretary gets spurred on in a very important sense by the Supreme Soviet chairman. It is good from that point of view, too. [laughter, applause]

[Question] (Aron Tasier). Mr President, you spoke about the tragedy in Armenia, the Armenian earthquake. I would like to ask you a question on this. I have spoken to both of the main specialists in this field, Academician (Rebian) and Professor (Porog). We have already, in fact, moved beyond the stage of a purely scientific examination of the question. It is a socioeconomic problem. It has, therefore, come to be a political problem. As you know, the Soviet Union is a country in which there is a very great danger of earthquakes. I think that here, in France, we have some knowledge in the field that could substantially help your country in protecting itself against earthquakes better than in past years. Since it has become a political matter, I have tried to contact you directly by letter. I think, perhaps, that you have not received the letter. If the question is of interest to you, I am completely at your disposal. [applause]

[Gorbachev] I wish, first of all, to agree with your observation that the possible emergence of many natural phenomena and disasters lies in wait for us all. This refers not just to the Soviet Union. That is not just connected with nature itself, which, in general, brings us many surprises. It is also connected with the present level, I would say, with current progress, for such is the reality. We are stalked by dangers in connection not only with nuclear weapons, but also with nuclear, atomic power stations. The case of Chernobyl alone has shown what that can mean. But it may, after all, happen in any country. The problem is, I think, close to you, the French, since your power engineering is based considerably on nuclear stations.

That is one thing. Or, take the network, the vast network, of chemical enterprises; or take modern communications and transport links; or take the exploitation of nature. Put all this together. I am not even attempting now to talk about everything. I can only add to that the recurrent droughts, even where there never were droughts at all. All that is very serious. Yesterday, futurologists worked on it. Today it is a matter for science and for governments.

Perhaps you have noticed that today, in the Soviet Government, a new organ has been set up. The new organ is a commission for emengencies and natural phenomena, and for their prevention, a commission, the task of which includes scientific forecasting scientific estimates, and the creation of a necessary system enabling the removal of dangers. It is headed by a deputy chairman of the country's Council of Ministers. We have shown initiative, and we have already had a conversation during this visit about cooperation in this sphere. I think that national programs are needed, that European programs are needed, and that programs are also needed within the UN framework, which allow efforts to be united for the prevention of severe consequences caused by natural forces. Among other things this includes the problem of earthquakes. I will remember what you have said and what you wish. [applause]

[Question] Mr President. (Regis Debre). You spoke to us about the common European home. I would like to ask you in connection with this, about Europe. First, where do you place the external boundaries of Europe? Does this Europe extend to Vladivostok, that is, does this Europe include the whole of the Soviet Union, or is the Soviet Union divided into Europe and Asia? Second, there are two military blocs in Europe—NATO and the Warsaw Pact. Do you consider it possible to simultaneously eliminate these blocs so as to create this common European home about which you speak. Next, you touched on the theme of the postnuclear era. Do you think that the complete elimination of nuclear weapons on the whole planet is possible? Do you not think that as a result of this, a world will arise which will not necessarily be more stable or less dangerous than the world of mutual deterence? I thank you.

[Gorbachev] Thank you. In relation to Europe, my ideas coincide with those of General de Gaulle—from the Atlantic to the Urals. Incidentally, during the last week other points of view have also appeared. There is, for example, the point of view which has been heard from quite responsible people. For example, the point of view which considers the restoring to Europe of its boundaries of 1939 to be possible, expedient, and even necessary. I hope you have already read these opinions. I cannot agree with this as, in my opinion, Europeans will not agree with it. We all feel that we are Europeans. We have the right to feel that we are Europeans. We have opportunities, huge intellectual opportunities, and unique experience to offer the world something important at this stage, when the world is at a crossroads, or at least,

at the moment, is slowly turning toward a period of peace. But, of course, we would like first to sort things out in Europe itself. This idea of a common European home—it is pleasant to state this now—is unceasingly winning over wider circles of the European public.

This is already reflected in the sphere of politics. Here a particular kind of consensus is emerging between politics, the public, intellectuals, and, let us say frankly, peoples. So I believe that we will prove capable of both working out the design of that home and of implementing the building of that home. I am not bothered that Europe is multifaceted, not only in terms of cultures, but in its ideological and political affiliations and adherences. That does not bother me, because if we think realistically, then this will be a process. Some would like to see this process, such that the problem of the divided nature of Europe should be solved by means of supplanting socialism. I believe that this is not realistic and, what is more, dangerous. I believe we should start, both in scientific research and policies, the formulation of policies, from the realities and everyone should throw away his, in this case, keep to himself his ideological affiliations. Let everyone remain true to himself on the basis of his own choice.

But let us promote the process in such a way as to enable, alongside political dialogue, military-political organizations to launch their cooperation, meetings, exchanges, and the discussion of problems. That process has already gotten under way. Incidentally, my delegation in France today includes Army General Moiseyev, chief of the General Staff, and Marshal Akhromeyev, the former chief of General Staff, my adviser on military issues. Yesterday, as these comrades reported to me, they had very intersting discussions with a representative of the French Armed Forces. They agreed to continue that dialogue and to make it more dynamic.

Very well, such exchanges have started between the military of the two blocs. Let them proceed. That is a right process in the right direction. The processes have gotten under way. They are gaining fresh momentum and are expanding—between the European Community and the economic organization of the countries of East Europe, including on a bilateral level. Therefore, these institutions are beginning to cooperate too and to seek ways of adopting to a new world, taking into account the construction of a common European home.

The capitals, and the countries, started their exchanges with the construction of cultural centers on each other's territory, in order to present their achievements and culture to each other and thus establish a regular exchange of cultures. Those are riches.

I believe that by embarking realistically on the course of changes and in the course of the process itself, if there is the requisite political will—and it has already emerged, a fact which we can state—we will arrive at a new Europe, at a common home where each will live while remaining true to himself but at the same time changing and communicating with others and borrowing everything interesting and necessary.

Why do we not accept... [Gorbachev changes thought] I believe I said it to Foreign Minister Dumas yesterday. It is likely that in your family which we know a little bit and where peace, French style, seems to be prevailing...there is a great deal of variety in this (?peace). Mr Dumas confirmed that this is true. But a family is a family.

It shows both care for its members and respect. So why then can such a family exist and a family of peoples cannot exist? It can, if we want it to, if we are realists and if we do not present one another with ultimatums—you change and we will stay the same, or, you change and we will stay just the way we are. No, it will not work that way. We must compromise with one another, changing and exchanging and in this way building a common European home. Is it an easy thing? No it is not. But what alternative is there? For us to arm ourselves? To clash with one another? Maintain this military confrontation which is the most powerful in the world? For peoples to be at odds? For cultures and peoples to be isolated? This is not common sense.

I am sure that we are on the right path and with every year we are becoming more clever and experienced and we are capable of buiding the common European home which will be based on freedom of choice, on respect for peoples and culture and also on a broad exchange of values, experience and interaction. I want to wish success to us and to you. For together we can make a large contribution to the construction of this home. [applause]

Gorbachev Receives Sorbonne Medal

LD0607173389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Text] Following the meeting [with the French intelligentsia at the Sorbonne University today], Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva were invited to the rectorate. Here short conversations took place. A souvenir medal of the Sorbonne which unites the universities of Paris was given to Mikhail Sergeyevich.

[Video shows the party proceeding through the rectorate, the award ceremony, and a still of the medal] [Gorbachev, shaking hands with the woman presenting him with the medal] A very precious souvenir. [Video shows Gorbachev meeting members of the crowd after the ceremony, and photographers seeking to photograph him. The scene then switches to outside the building where Gorbachev replies to journalists' questions]

[Gorbachev] I am very pleased with the atmosphere, above all. It was open, very respectful, and it allowed us to discuss in this atmosphere the most major questions, to listen to each other and, I think, to understand each other.

[Journalist] (?It was a very short visit).

[Gorbachev] I believe that any sort of visit is defined not by its length but by its content, and I regard this visit as one of the most major visits.

[Journalist in French with superimposed Russian translation] Are you worried in connection with the internal situation in your country?

[Gorbachev] Well, you know we are doing revolutionary things, and I will say that there are problems. I believe there will still be problems, but I am sure that everything will go on all right. It will, it will return to normal. [video shows Gorbachev posing for photographs before departure and of the car moving off]

More on Gorbachev-Marchais Meeting

PM0607124389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Friendly Meeting in Paris"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev met G. Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party [PCF], in Paris on 5 July. He shared his impressions from his visit to France, stressing the great importance of political dialogue and multifaceted cooperation between two great powers—the Soviet Union and France. This is in keeping with the interests of the peoples of our countries and the cause of all-European cooperation. M.S. Gorbachev described the progress of restructuring in our country. G. Marchais in turn declared the French Communists' solidarity with the CPSU and wished the cause of restructuring total success.

It was agreed that the exchange of opinions between the CPSU and the PCF should be continued during the upcoming visit to the USSR in September of a PCF delegation headed by G. Marchais.

The conversation which passed in a friendly atmosphere was attended by E.A. Shevardnadze; A.N. Yakovlev; CPSU Central Committee members Ya.P. Ryabov and V.M. Falin; and M. Gremetz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PCF Central Committee.

Marchais Comments on Gorbachev Meeting

LD0607221989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 6 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] And this is the meeting between the leaders of the CPSU and the French Communist Party [PCF]. It took place during the visit. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and PCF General Secretary Georges Marchais warmly greeted each other. [Video shows Gorbachev and Marchais shaking hands, speaking through interpreter, exchanging some words]

Afterwards a friendly, wide-ranging discussion took place. It was a mutual, comradely exchange of views. Comrades Shevardnadze, Yakovlev and other comrades participated in the discussion. [Video shows Gorbachev, Yakovlev, Shevardnadze and two unidentified men seated round the table; Shevardnadze shaking hand with Marchais and with one of two unidentified men, discussion through interpreter, close-up of Gorbachev]

After ending his discussion with Comrade Gorbachev, Comrade Georges Marchais granted an interview to Soviet television.

[Potapov] We asked Comrade Marchais to tell us briefly about the main content of his talks with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and to share his impressions about this meeting:

[Begin video interview with Marchais by correspondent Potapov. Interview conducted in French with superimposed Russian translation]

[Marchais] First and foremost I would like to emphasize the atmosphere during the discussion. The atmosphere was friendly and really cordial. In the exchange of views we confided in each other. At this meeting we discussed a number of very topical questions. Comrade Gorbachev briefed us first and foremost about the progress of restructuring in your country. And in this connection I reaffirmed for him the position of the French Communist Party. We, the communists of France, support Soviet restructuring and we wish you complete success in implementing this policy.

In our dicussion we also touched up on certain problems in international politics. Our common will is to strive for lasting peace and disarmament. And I think that ordinary French people will, as they were before—but in a more effective way—let know about their resolve to establish a peaceful future and that they will demand that governments make headway and act for this—that is for a policy of peace and disarmament.

And finally we exchanged views on Comrade Gorbachev's visit to France. We are glad of this visit. As you know, the French Communist Party has always advocated the need to develop cooperation with the Soviet

Union—cooperation in various spheres—in the spheres of (?politics), the economy, culture and science and technology. We think that this visit will engender a new stage in the relations between our two countries. And so, I am summing up: The meeting was cordial, it stressed the progress on all the issues which I have now listed.

And last I will report to you that at this meeting Comrade Gorbachev invited me to come to the Soviet Union, as a head of a party delegation, in the second half of September. Of course I accepted this proposal with pleasure, because the new meeting corresponds to our wishes; not to my personal wishes, of course, but to the wishes of all French communists.

[Potapov] Thank you.

Mitterrand-Gorbachev 'Farewell' Talks

LD0607192589 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Paris July 6 TASS—There was a farewell meeting between French President Francois Mitterrand and Mikhail Gorbachev who stayed here on an official visit. The meeting took place in Gorbachev's residence before his departure from Paris.

Asked what he feels before his departure from Paris, Gorbachev said: "I am sure that we have done very important work. May be, it is the most important of all our meetings in its content and significance and even the most important of bilateral summit meetings, taking into account the time at which it was held.

"Soviet-French relations have been elevated to a higher level. It was very important to speak frankly of the developments in the world under the present situation. I'm sure that we shall cooperate fruitfully in future too.

"We are also happy that the visit enabled us to convey the feelings of respect of the Soviet people for the French people during the wonderful days of the French Revolution jubilee."

Francois Mitterrand wished Mikhail Gorbachev bon voyage and successful implementation of economic, political and spiritual changes on such an immense scale.

He expressed conviction that the Soviet-French cooperation may be a pivotal element in the process of Europe's unification. This excludes neither the United States nor French partners in Europe.

They also had a short exchange of opinions on relations of each side with the United States and West Germany at this time as well as on prospects for cutting nuclear and conventional weapons.

Francois Mitterrand and his wife saw off Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife at the entrance to the Marigny Palace, Gorbachev's residence.

Gorbachev Interviewed on Impressions

LD0607225589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Interview with President Mikhail Gorbachev by correspondent A. Potapov in Strasbourg on 6 July; from the "Vremya" newcast—recorded]

[Text] [A. Potapov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, could you spare a couple of words for "Vremya?" Two words, literally.

[Gorbachev] Ah.

[Potapov] Mikhail Sergeyevich, your visit to France is over. In your speeches you have spoken about your political discussions and meetings. If it were possible to single out your most vivid and most important impression, what would it be?

[Gorbachev] Actually, I would stress and give top billing to the irreplaceability of the French political dialogue. It is one of great substance and is commensurate with the challenges of the times in which we live. I would also give that top billing to the atmosphere created by the French people. They forecasted. The press, however, came out with a lot of conjecture, condemning us to coldness or a cool reception. We are grateful to the people of France. I believe in people's common sense, and one can hardly say that the French are devoid of common sense. There have been so many warm meetings and even simply glances, and this is perhaps the most important thing I could mention.

We are departing with the feeling that a great deal of useful and essential work has been done. I would even go as far as to say that though the visit was brief, it has proved to be a major event on a very large scale. I would like to stress this. Also, of course, the visit lent a certain character to our conversations. I would say they were of a philosphical coloring. It is natural that at such a time people are reflecting on the past, on the present, and on the future. In this sense, I would say it has been a successful visit, and has been in the interests of our two countries, of Europe, and of the world.

[Potapov] You have had meetings here in the Council of Europe. I imagine they intend to expand cooperation with us.

[Gorbachev] Yes, after the speech we had a brief but very substantive conversation, and we were already discussing how to transfer all these political accords onto the plane of practical action. We spoke about the mechanism that has to be switched on, and we even agreed to set up a working group to devise just such a mechanism.

[Potapov] Thank you, Mikhail Sergeyevich. Bon Voyage! [video shows interview; Raisa Gorbacheva standing next to Gorbachev, surrounded by officials]

Gorbachev Departs for Bucharest

LD0607160389 Moscow TASS in English 1550 GMT 6 Jul 89

[By TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Strasbourg July 6 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev left Strasbourg for the Romanian capital Bucharest today after completing his three-day official visit to France. The president and general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee will take part in a regular meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee.

Shevardnadze Urges Mideast Conference

TA0607083289 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0405 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and French President Francois Mitterrand yesterday held a joint news conference in Paris in which they called for an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told our Paris correspondent Gid'on Kouts that other possible solutions have also been raised in the Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Gid'on Kouts reports from Paris:

[Passage omitted] In a talk I had with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze immediately after the Gorbachev-Mitterrand news conference, I asked whether the Soviets indeed adhere to the orthodox concept of the peace conference or whether they would consent to a different framework.

[Shevardnadze in Russian, followed by Kouts' translation into Hebrew] In our dialogue with the Americans we discuss every possible solution. What was said here today is that the goal should be an international conference, something Mr Shamir does not like very much.

Shevardnadze added: Speaking of goals, it would have been good if Mr Shamir's and Mr 'Arafat's representatives met with each other.

I asked him: With your participation?

He replied: We consent. I have even suggested such a possibility already.

Shevardnadze, Dumas View Talks

PM0507181189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 89 First Edition p 4

[Dispatch by PRAVDA special correspondents V. Bolshakov and V. Drobkov: "Parisians Open Their Hearts"]

[Excerpt] Paris, 5 Jul—[Passage omitted] ...We were in the old palace which houses the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The first agreements between the governments of our two countries lay on the table before the French and Soviet foreign ministers. "We are reaping a rich harvest," E.A. Shevardnadze said. "We can now say that relations between France and the Soviet Union have entered a qualitatively new stage. These agreements cover the economy, trade, scientific and technical cooperation, culture, youth exchange, and so forth." Then he added: "The talks currently in progress between President F. Mitterrand and M.S. Gorbachev have enormous significance not only for our two countries and not only for Europe but for the whole world."

We asked French Foreign Minister R. Dumas to talk about the "European dimension" of the talks currently in progress between our two countries.

"Europe," he said, "is indeed the focus of our talks, which are primarily, of course, talks between our heads of state but are also being conducted at foreign minister level. In particular, we have discussed the questions of security, trust, and disarmament in Europe. These are extensive subjects and require detailed discussion and constant work. I believe that the meeting in Paris makes it possible for us to contribute to strengthening peace on our continent and further developing good relations between our two countries and the traditionally friendly feelings between our two peoples."

"Have the positions of the two countries come closer together during the first day of the talks?" was our next question.

"Judge for yourselves," R. Dumas replied. "We will be signing 20 Soviet-French agreements over the next few days. I do not say this in order to 'astound' you with this figure. It is enough to read these agreements to be convinced of their significance. Moreover, they extend—and this is very important—to an increasingly broad sphere of activity: from environmental protection to the conquest of space, from cultural exchange to exchanges in the military sphere, which helps to establish trust and good relations between our two peoples."

"I would like to confirm what M. Dumas has said," E.A. Shevardnadze told us. "I would simply like to note that Europe is indeed the focus of the Soviet-French dialogue and add that this dialogue in itself will be the center of attention of Europe itself and the rest of the world for a long time to come..."

From the very outset the visit has assumed an intensive, businesslike rhythm. Talks are being held simultaneously at several levels—at the highest, presidential level, at minister level, and finally, between experts. This system makes it possible not to waste time on technical details but to immediately seize the bull by the horns, as they say. We have already had considerable opportunity to feel satisfied that this approach suits the French, who are now making increasingly active efforts in the direction of effective cooperation with our country. As President F. Mitterrand said yesterday at the Elysee Palace, "For the first time in the last 50 years we are being given an opportunity to lead

Europe out of the era of division and confrontation and set her on a path of reconciliation and accord—as long as we do not let this chance slip, of course."

This appeal has also been heard by business circles. The PRAVDA correspondents' office in Paris unexpectedly received a phone call yesterday from the "Credit Lyonnais" banking group. It was the famous "Credit Lyonnais" Bank, renowned throughout the world. "Come round," they said to us, "you won't be sorry. We have prepared a surprise..."

We immediately set off for the Boulevard Italien, where the headquarters of this banking group are situated. L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and J.I. Abrer, president of "Credit Lyonnais," were holding a meeting with journalists. They said that, at the initiative of "Credit Lyonnais," a consortium of leading French corporations is going to be formed to develop Soviet-French cooperation, particularly joint enterprises and projects. The following have joined: "Pechinet" (an agreement has been concluded with this group to build a plant in the Soviet Union to produce aluminium foil); "Thomson" (this firm supplies us with television equipment); the "Total" oil and gas corporation; the "Serge Dassault" group; "Electronique" (which produces electronic equipment); "Dartie" [name as transliterated] (a network of stores which sell electronic equipment, television sets, radios, refrigerators, and washing machines); "Club Mediterranee" (an organization which specializes in summer leisure and the construction of tourist "villages"); the BSN group (gas liquefaction); the Soviet-French "Eurobank"; and, naturally, "Credit Lyonnais," which is responsible for the idea of setting up the consortium. A similar consortium will be established on the Soviet side.

"We have such confidence in the Soviet Union," J.I. Abrer said, "that we can cooperate with it in virtually any sphere."

We asked L.A. Voronin about his impressions of the recent talks with French colleagues.

"I have the most favorable impressions. My colleague, French Minister of Economy and Finance P. Beregovoy, and I will continue working together but we already intend to sign a number of very important agreements on economic cooperation between our two countries. And I must say that the initiative of 'Credit Lyonnais' will be a very serious contribution to this cooperation."

Some time in the future the agreements now signed will take on substance in the form of real joint Soviet-French enterprises (and, if we are to judge by the "statements of intent" already formulated, there will be more than 60 of them in the near future), which will help to more rapidly raise our economy and the goods it produces to world standard.

Today is the second day of the visit. In addition to the talks and the signing of several more important agreements, there is also going to be a press conference this evening. And tomorrow—the flight to Strasbourg, where M.S. Gorbachev will give an important political speech.

Yakovlev, Socialist Party's Mauroy Meet

LD0607172489 Moscow TASS in English 1426 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Paris July 6 TASS—Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee, and Pierre Mauroy, first secretary of the French Socialist Party and former prime minister, at their meeting in Paris on Wednesday discussed issues of security and disarmament. The two officials also examined the development of contacts and dialogue between the two parties.

The Soviet side observed that the concept and practice of "nuclear deterrence" are not only sources of danger and mistrust, but are objectively turning into a stimulus for the spread of nuclear weapons worldwide.

Both sides expressed the potential importance of the success of the Vienna talks on reducing conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe, the achievement of a Soviet-American agreement on a 50 per cent reduction of their strategic arsenals and non-militarisation of outer space.

Yakovlev Interviewed on Paris Visit

LD0607185889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 6 Jun 89

[Interview with A.N. Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by unidentified correspondent; from the "Vremya" newscast; place and date not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Each Soviet-French summit meeting is, as is well known, another important stage in relations between our countries. What new will the present Soviet-French meeting bring to the cause of further development of these relations, and to the building of a common European home?

[Yakovlev] Indeed, if one is to talk about the factual aspect of the matter, then 22 agreements have been concluded. Earnest talks were held, starting from politics, right up to military matters. All this has its own significance, serious significance. But I would like to share my personal impressions and thoughts with regard to this. You see, this visit, the talks and the agreements which were concluded, cannot be considered out of context of an all- European settlement. In fact, a very complex process is under way of transfer from the old quality to a new quality. And we too have to rewrite certain pages of our foreign policy, while they [as heard] must reexamine many things and adopt a more realistic attitude to many phenomena.

My meetings here, which are carried out in addition to the general program, say that French politicians are in an increasingly deeper way, thinking: What should happen next? What should the next step be? Well, say, let's assume that we reach a European consensus that there should not be war. Let's assume that there will be less nuclear weapons, or that there will be no nuclear weapons at all. Let's assume that conventional weapons will be sharply reduced. All right, we will establish various exchanges.

Already we have agreed to bring thousands of our young people over here, and thousands of French to our country, to the Soviet Union, to carry out such active exchanges. What will happen next? Where does all this lead? To what kind of relations, to what nature of these relations, to what depth of these relations and to what objectives of these relations? It may be not only the objective, but the methods of achieving these relations, which is the main thing. And in this respect there are very many questions, too. It is necessary to reject not only strong-arm approaches in foreign policy, but also any hints of it. The climate of consensus, compromises, and so on and so forth, must, indeed, be established.

The second thing I would like to speak about is the coincidence of the visit with the preparation of France and the French for the jubilee of the great French Revolution. Whether we like it or not, the fact remains that this revolution yielded great slogans under which, as you know, struggles were carried out in the course of the last 2 centuries. And these are the slogans: Fraternity, equality, and liberty. In the context of both, the tragedy and the achievements of the French revolution—and this phenomenon is, of course, not straightforward, for it was both heroic and cruel—we in our country support, glorify, if you like, and celebrate the enormous positive influence the great French Revolution excerted upon the entire development of mankind and Europe, although it took place after the English and Dutch revolutions, which were to a certain extent half-baked and inconclusive.

Obviously relying on the experience of the Enlightenment and the Reformation, it moved mankind ahead. It was a high-quality definite step in the development of social awareness and the practical activities of people.

Indeed, we—I do not want to draw direct parallels, I am speaking about the spirit, atmosphere and approaches—we in our own country are now conducting revolutionary transformations in social awareness, production forces, and in production relations. Naturally the revolutionary spirit of changes—well, if one leaves aside the tragic events of the revolution—this revolutionary spirit of changes, should, I think, be assimilated by us too, but to the full extent. One cannot change history, but history is nevertheless unified and the historical process is unified. Taking all this into account, we in our country must again and again reinterpret what we have done and what has to be done.

Here in France, too, those processes now under way are also in a way extrapolated from those events of 200 years ago, and the subsequent development of France, in one way or another—although naturally there is no united agreement on the assessment. There are many assessments and they are very varied. Some curse the revolution, others admire it, and yet others approach it in a purely pragmatic way. Well, okay, this is quite normal, and for us and for our social awareness there is now nothing surprising in this.

In short, this visit that all of us have been witnessing is yet a further step in the new interpretation of world events, and in the new interpretation of our foreign policy and of the new political thinking—the term we have adopted for ourselves. I think that it will help the creation of more favorable conditions for our restructuring and for those transformations that are under way in our country. Thank you.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

Yakovlev on Sorbonne Speech, Accords

PM0607181989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jul 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by special correspondents I. Golembiovskiy and Yu. Kovalenko: "To Move Toward Each Other"]

[Text] Paris, 6 Jul—Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's meeting in the Sorbonne with the intellectual flowers of France lasted approximately 2 hours. Our readers are able to familiarize themselves with a detailed report on it published in today's issue. But we would like to draw attention to two aspects which, so it seemed, elicited the greatest response from those gathered in the large amphitheater of one of Europe's oldest universities.

The first aspect is M.S. Gorbachev's thinking on the purpose of the intelligentsia in modern society. We are accustomed to words about the lofty role of the intelligentsia, but we frequently invest our understanding of it with a certain limitedly applied substance, as one of many impulses for progress and spiritual development. Just as frequently we limit the intelligentsia's sphere of operation to a national framework. But here, in the Sorbonne, a call was heard to the intelligentsia to be aware of its international responsibility, its responsibility both for the destinies of its own peoples and for the destiny of the entire world as a whole. A burden as heavy as it is noble. The planet's intellectual potential, if it were really united and geared to the benefit of mankind—and the priority spheres of its application are clearly designated today (the peace problem, ecology, culture)—would, of course, produce an unusually effective result.

Running somewhat ahead, we will cite the words which French Culture Minister Jack Lang said to us after the meeting had ended:

"Gorbachev made a remarkable speech. He presented us with a synthesis of all the fundamental principles which are today animating the life of your entire country and people. I believe that this speech is of great significance and that people will return frequently to the ideas enshrined in it. It is in some way a charter of the great principles of modern democracy. I believe that the Soviet leader's Sorbonne speech will help to strengthen the cultural and intellectual bonds between our states. Did you see the warmth, enthusiasm, and interest with which M.S. Gorbachev was received?! Whatever the differences between the two systems, there exists something like fraternity among people devoted to freedom in both parts of Europe, in France and the USSR. And many intellectuals and cultural and scientific figures are clearly aware of this. Of course, this does not mean that we agree with everything, but the chief thing is there—agreement on the approach, on principles. French intellectual and creative circles are tuned to the same wavelength as the Soviet intelligentsia. The Soviet and French governments must help to free creative energy in all spheres of life."

One of the questions put to Mikhail Sergeyevich, which was so prolix that it resembled more of a brief speech, expressed alarm at the fate of the future Europe. The question was somewhat belated, because in his speech the Soviet leader had already defined the prospects of the world process: lengthy development on the basis of peaceful coexistence, when no political system can aspire to the role of gravedigger for another system. We remember how in the past another leader of ours—true, in a distant country across the ocean—insistently prepared just this excessive role for our country, and we remember what sad repercussions for us this had in the West. But different times have arrived, and we long ago chose, declared, and now use a different principle. Freedom of choice is a universal instrument of international communication. The most acute problems must be resolved on the basis of dialogue. You must leave ideological attachments at home when you go out into the international arena and not lay down ultimatums. "We must move toward each other," M.S. Gorbachev concluded his answer.

Is there an alternative? We believe that the audience realized that, if mankind intends to survive in this sinful world, there is no alternative.

To continue the theme, the idea of tolerance resounded reassuringly. The world is full of contradictions, fear, and suspicions. Patience has become a quality as vital as air both for politicians and for nations. To understand your opponent means also being better aware of yourself in the overall movement of the peoples, for the danger of lagging behind the onward march of civilization always lies in isolation, in arrogant evasion. Tolerance, respect, and trust lead to conscious cooperation. And not only in the international arena. Here, in Paris, our misfortunes at home are not forgotten, and the appeal to reason, the call for a solicitous attitude toward each other will, we hope, be heard at home too.

We talked with A.N. Yakovlev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo.

"That was," Aleksandr Yakovlev said, "a unique meeting. The Sorbonne is the intellectual center not just of Paris but the whole of France. It always has been and remains so today. The Sorbonne has nevertheless, unlike some European academic centers, maintained its identity, status, academic standards, and innovation. Although some people think that the university's stance is somewhat traditional, I think that this view is not quite accurate. I regard this not as conservatism but as a desire to understand more profoundly what is happening in the world around. We have good links with the University of Paris, and they must be comprehensively expanded. The Sorbonne enjoys high academic standing, and the success of our party's general secretary is therefore particularly gratifying. You saw for yourself. He was met with such cordiality, such open-heartedness. That is very important.

"Paris saw the signing of an unprecedented package of agreements in the economic, scientific, technical, cultural, and military spheres. Some of them are fundamentally new in character. For example, for the first time in Europe two consortia have been set up to trade with the USSR which unite a whole series of major French companies and banks. They will do business with us on a barter basis and thereby help get around the very ticklish problem for us of the nonconvertibility of the ruble. It is thought in France that the consortia will boost the setting up of a large number (up to 60) of joint enterprises.

"As P. Beregovoy, French minister of the economy and finance, observed, the talks in Paris have established a basis that enables us to work on preparing a long-term agreement—through the year 2000—on bilateral cooperation. But specific steps and enterprising action are required to ensure that this economic fireworks display that took place on the banks of the Seine during the Soviet leaders' visit is not extinguished. According to data supplied by the French foreign trade center, local output is often 20, 30, and sometimes even 60 percent more expensive than that of their competitors in the FRG, Italy, and other countries. Soviet trade far from always reaches the requisite level either.

"There are a number of difficulties, but both sides are demonstrating a readiness to overcome them. Traditional spheres of cooperation, particularly nuclear power generation, are developing successfully. An accord on a new flight by a French astronaut aboard a Soviet craft in 1992 and the exploration of Mars in 1994 has been achieved. Joint work is planned in the sphere of medicine (cancer and AIDS), biology, and environmental protection.

"The Thomson company intends to set up a Franco-Soviet enterprise which will produce 600,000 color television sets annually. Another joint enterprise, manufacturing furniture, is being opened by Seribo. ELF-Acquitaine is obtaining mineral exploration rights in the

Caspian Sea area. And finally the ready-to-wear clothes company Alain Manoukian is opening stores in Moscow.

"We, for our part, must not remain suppliers of raw materials, this is a difficult task, but unless we solve it we cannot hope for success."

Specifics on Soviet-French Agreements Provided
PM0607122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
6 Jul 89 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[TASS report under the rubric "M.S. Gorbachev's Stay in France": "Soviet-French Talks"]

[Text] The two delegations met in an enlarged form in the Elysee Palace in the afternoon of 5 July. E.A. Shevardnadze, A.N. Yakovlev, L.A. Voronin, Ministers of State R. Dumas and P. Beregovoy, Defense Minister J.-P. Chevenement, and Foreign Trade Minister J.-M. Rausch reported on the results of the working meetings held by them.

M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand evaluated highly the work done prior to the visit, as a result of which an unprecedented package of specific agreements of importance to both sides was prepared. It was pointed out that their chief purpose is to create a favorable legal background and the necessary conditions to encourage constructive initiatives and direct, informal contacts among the direct participants in cooperation. The rectification of the situation in the sphere of economic, scientific, and technical ties and the further enrichment of cultural and youth exchanges between the USSR and France depend on their dynamism and boldness alone.

Great attention was devoted to questions of the qualitative renewal of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation and to practical measures which will ensure the complete fulfillment of the pledges adopted by both sides. It was stated that the opportunities for traditional forms of cooperation in these spheres have been practically exhausted. The task now is to bring to the forefront the main participants in cooperation—enterprises, firms, including small and medium research centers, and regions—to arrange collaborative ties among them, to create joint ventures, and also to cooperate in the markets of third countries.

The transformation of the cooperation mechanism must be subordinated to this. It is a question of creating a single joint intergovernmental organ instead of the existing two commissions, giving it mainly coordinating and consultative functions, and ensuring a leading role for enterprises and firms in sectoral working groups. In the treaty and legal sphere the aim has been set of renewing the system of treaties and agreements, bringing them into line with the changing conditions, and making the necessary amendments to existing legal documents or concluding new ones.

Changes in the system of funding projects, information, and publicity must also accord with the task of decentralizing cooperation and serving the direct partners locally.

Special emphasis was placed on the significance of setting up large-scale cooperation as quickly as possible in training cadres in the sphere of the economy for the future development of economic ties between the two countries.

Attention was drawn to the importance of developing close cooperation in the priority areas of scientific and technical progress. These include, in particular, opening up and using space for peaceful purposes, aircraft construction, robot technology, electronics and information science, high-definition television, biotechnology, production of new technologies, high-speed rail transport, the development of deep-water work technologies, nuclear power generation, basic research in the sphere of high-energy physics, medicine—particularly the struggle against AIDS—and others.

The new quality of mutual trust is reflected in the accord on the development of contacts between the two countries' armed forces.

During the exchange of opinions the mutual desire was expressed to complete in the very near future the preparations for signing a number of other important agreements, in particular a treaty on legal aid in civil cases and intergovernmental agreements on the times and procedures for issuing visas and on exchanges of schoolchildren.

Summarizing the talks, F. Mitterrand particularly emphasized the importance of restoring the rhythm of regular, approximately annual, Soviet-French top-level meetings. At the present time the dialogue between France and the Soviet Union is once again assuming significance as a substantial factor of European and world stability.

Speaking of the work done by the French ministers and the persons accompanying M.S. Gorbachev, F. Mitterrand declared that it made it possible to deepen Soviet-French relations. A great practical and intellectual effort was made. We transcended the formal framework of courtesy in order to feel better in Europe and to return our relations to the better times which have existed repeatedly in history and for which favorable conditions have once again appeared.

This is connected, above all, with the fact that the top-level dialogue has acquired new qualities thanks to the transforming principles in the Soviet leader's foreign and domestic policy.

Assessing the in-depth discussion which representatives of the Soviet and French military departments have had during these days, F. Mitterrand said that everyone has the right to be concerned about his own defense. But this must not be generalized mistrust for each other.

M.S. Gorbachev summed up the talks for his part. He subscribed to the assessments of the work done by his and the president's colleagues and evaluated highly F. Mitterrand's contribution to the visit's success. His approach to problems makes it possible to open wide the doors to cooperation not only in bilateral relations but also in European and world affairs. Francois Mitterrand is a politician open to the discussion of any problems and capable of generating ideas in keeping with the challenges of the time.

France has a reliable partner in the Soviet Union, M.S. Gorbachev said. The summit meeting itself and the talks at other levels have taken place in a really businesslike way and—I agree with my French colleagues' assessments—in an atmosphere of friendship. M.S. Gorbachev also specially emphasized the new quality of the exchange of opinions between the military departments' representatives.

Our agreement on many questions—I also agree with my French colleagues—must now shift to deeds. So that the agreements and accords signed here do not remain just a slogan, after pronouncing which nothing happens. Businesslike efficiency is needed.

M.S. Gorbachev invited French President F. Mitterrand to pay a new official visit to the Soviet Union next year. He confirmed N.I. Ryzhkov's invitation to French Prime Minister M. Rocard to visit the USSR. Both invitations were accepted as a sign of the regularity and high development of the Soviet-French political dialogue.

In a ceremonial atmosphere at the conclusion of the talks M.S. Gorbachev and F. Mitterrand signed the Declaration on the Principles of Developing and Improving Economic, Industrial, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and France.

Then the government members signed a number of Soviet-French agreements.

Foreign Ministers E.A. Shevardnadze and R. Dumas signed:

—an agreement on cultural cooperation between the government of the USSR and the government of the French Republic;

—an agreement between USSR and the government of the French Republic on the establishment of USSR and French cultural centers and their operating conditions;

—an agreement between the government of the USSR and the government of the French Republic on improving the hotline between the Kremlin and the Elysee Palace;

—an agreement between the government of the USSR and the government of the French Republic on youth exchanges;

—an agreement between the government of the USSR and the government of the French Republic on preventing incidents at sea outside territorial waters;

—an agreement on cooperation between the government of the USSR and the government of the French Republic in the sphere of the struggle against the illegal use and trafficking of drugs and psychotropic substances;

—an agreement between the government of the USSR and the government of the French Republic on cooperation in the sphere of state archives.

L.A. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for the Soviet side and P. Beregovoy, minister of state and minister of economy, finance, and budget of the French Republic; R. Fauroux, minister of industry and land management; H. Nallet, minister of agriculture and forests; and P. Quiles, minister of communications and space, for the French side, signed:

—an agreement between the government of the USSR and the government of the French Republic on the mutual encouragement and mutual protection of capital investments;

—an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of training cadres for economic activity;

—an agreement on cooperation in the sphere of digital television and high-definition television;

—a long-term program of scientific, technical, economic, and industrial cooperation in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex for the period through the year 2000;

—a memorandum of intent concerning the creation of a consortium in the sphere of the agro-industrial complex;

—a protocol to the agreement of 30 June 1966 between the government of the USSR and the government of the French Republic on cooperation in the sphere of studying and opening up space for peaceful purposes; and also:

—a protocol of intent concerning the reorganization of the mechanism of bilateral economic, industrial, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and France;

—a memorandum on mutual understanding of the need for cooperation in the sphere of forestry between the USSR and France;

—a program of cooperation between the USSR and France in the sphere of training cadres for economic activity during 1989-1990;

—a protocol on cooperation in the sphere of telecommunications;

—a statement on scientific, technical, and industrial cooperation in the sphere of civil aviation and aircraft construction;

—a protocol on cooperation between the USSR and France in the sphere of basic research.

There was also an exchange of letters on extending the agreement of 22 June 1977 between the government of the USSR and the government of the French Republic on cooperation in the transport sphere.

M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and M. Schmitt, chief of staff of the French Armed Forces, signed an agreement between the USSR Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Defense of the French Republic on mutual contacts between the armed forces of the USSR and the French Republic in 1990-1991.

More on Economic-Trade Talks

PM0607183189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jul 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Basis of Cooperation Strengthening"]

[Text] R. Dumas, minister of state and foreign minister, and P. Beregovoy, minister of state and minister of economy, finances, and budget, organized a working luncheon today in honor of E.A. Shevardnadze and L.A. Voronin, in which leading French employers and prominent French business representatives took part.

A substantive discussion took place on the current state of affairs and prospects for developing Soviet-French trade and economic, scientific, and technical relations.

Both sides expressed satisfaction with the fact that the Soviet Union and France have concluded a whole series of important agreements designed to strengthen the treaty and legal basis of cooperation between the two countries and create favorable conditions for the establishment of direct, informal ties between Soviet and French enterprises and companies. Great attention was paid to the qualitative improvement of such cooperation and its further intensification and diversification. The Soviet side, in particular, welcomed the establishment of a French consortium for trade with the USSR comprising a number of major banks, companies, and corporations whose aim it is to support joint ventures. There are now more than 20 such Soviet-French ventures and talks on setting up a whole series of new ones are under way. The ministers noted in their brief speeches that the development of mutually beneficial and equitable economic cooperation among European states is laying down a reliable foundation for the common European home, which is taking on an increasingly defined outline.

It was noted with satisfaction that Soviet-French cooperation, which received an important political boost during M.S. Gorbachev's visit to France in 1985 and F. Mitterrand's visit to the Soviet Union, is becoming increasingly active in embracing such advanced areas as space, aviation, television, power generation, transport, computers, and so forth. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the growing level of trust in relations between the two countries.

TASS Interviews Chirac on Gorbachev Visit

LD2906064189 Moscow TASS in English 0620 GMT 29 Jun 89

[By TASS correspondent Yuriy Lopatin]

[Text] Paris June 29 TASS— We cordially welcome the coming visit of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev to France, said Jacques Chirac, prominent French politician, mayor of Paris, head of the Gaullist party Rassemblement Pour la Republique [Rally for the Republic] and former prime minister of France.

The Soviet leader will come here after his recent triumphant trip to West Germany, he said in a TASS interview. His visit falls in line with a perceptible activisation of the East-West dialogue. There is no doubt that European problems, the consolidation of universal security, regional conflicts and ways of settling them, East-West relations, including in the economic sphere, as well as problems now called transnational, primarily, terrorism and environmental protection, will be thoroughly discussed during the visit. Much remains to be done in all these spheres and, in the first place, it is necessary to study these problems in detail. A joint statement of Gorbachev and Chancellor Kohl is very interesting and positive in this respects. We highly appreciated it. I hope that the coming discussion of these major problems in the course of the Soviet-French summit will promote the consolidation of security and, consequently, the improvement of life in Europe and the world in general. I wish big success to Gorbachev's visit, Chirac said in conclusion.

Correspondent Says French Welcome Gorbachev Visit

PM0607182589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Jul 89 First Edition p 1

[Captain First Rank B. Kuzar report: "Summit Opens: Our Special Correspondent Reports From Paris"]

[Excerpts] Paris newspapers on 4 July give prominent coverage to materials devoted to M.S. Gorbachev's official visit to France. Many newspapers emphasize its

great importance for both Soviet-French relations and the all-European process as a whole. However, it is impossible not to notice that certain French mass media abound in opinions which smack of skepticism as regards Soviet domestic and foreign policy and seek to generate misgivings among the public as to our true intentions.

However, this is at variance with the views of most French people. Numerous conversations with Parisians and guests in the capital prove convincingly that the people of France favor the broadest possible multifaceted cooperation with our country. The warm and ceremonial welcome accorded to the Soviet leader in Paris also serves to illustrate the French people's sentiments. Thanks to television, our readers were able to watch the colorful welcoming ceremony at Orly Airport. [passage omitted]

Within the framework of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to France, Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister, will have talks with French military leaders. A 2-year agreement also is to be signed on mutual relations between the Soviet and French Armed Forces.

Thus, a great amount of work lies ahead, work for the sake of deepening Soviet-French ties and bringing the two halves of the European continent closer together, work for the sake of disarmament and international security.

USSR, France Sign Document on MiG-29 Investigation

18010810 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Jun 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Colonel A. Andryushkov, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA special correspondent: "Cause—Engine Compressor Stall: Joint Soviet-French MiG-29 Accident Investigation Document Is Signed"]

[Text] The most varied rumors are being spread about the causes of the MiG-29 accident. Test pilot Anatoliy Kvochur piloted the aircraft on the 8 June opening day of the 38th International Aerospace Show. During the first few days, the Western mass media even managed to report the pilot's death.

Only the commission created on the day of the accident and chaired by French General Rujeban Beauville can establish the true cause of the accident. From the Soviet side, MiG-29 Chief Designer M. Valdenberg; OKB [Experimental Design Bureau] imeni A.I. Mikoyan Chief Pilot, Hero of the Soviet Union and decorated USSR test pilot V. Menitskiy; and, Central Institute of Engine Building Head D. Ogorodnikov were members of the commission.

The commission worked intensively for seven days before arriving at a conclusion. To understand the entire complexity of the task it faced, let us return to the starting point. That day the weather near Paris was rainy and heavy rains had fallen the day before. There were thick low-lying clouds over the ground. Nevertheless, there was not a cloud in the sky at Le Bourges. Tens of thousands of spectators filled the observation areas and the surrounding areas. There were fewer tickets (each cost 35 francs and higher) than those desiring to attend the aviation holiday.

Flights began on schedule. I have a copy of the schedule on the desk in front of me and I have found Anatoliy Kvochur's interrupted flight. The American F-18 and several other aircraft had flown before he did. The Soviet MiG-29 taxied out to the take-off position. Local time was 15:30.

Immediately prior to engine start, Aircraft Mechanic A. Zverev removed the covers from the air intakes as usual. Under these conditions, the engine itself cannot "ingest" anything from the ground, it simply does not have enough power. In the opinions of the many specialists with whom I had the opportunity to discuss the accident, it could have occurred due to an air current from a Northrop turboprop aircraft taxiing by at the time because a dust whirlwind raised by its propellers wrapped around the MiG-29.

Anatoliy Kvochur took off at 15:42 and immediately flew the Mig-29 into a series of aerobatic figures. Two minutes later, he flew over the runway at minimal speed and put the aircraft into a climb.

"I heard a bang in the area of the right engine," Kvochur told me, "and immediately felt a sharp reduction in thrust. The aircraft began to turn and stood on its wing..." We already know the rest. Less than two seconds later, the MiG-29 hit the ground and exploded. During that time, Kvochur managed to turn the aircraft away from the viewing stand toward an empty spot on the airfield and eject.

Television and videocameras recorded the Soviet pilot's dramatic flight for posterity. I have watched the cassette recording of the MiG's last seconds many times and could not fight the feeling of unreality about what was occurring. But reality convinced me: The pilot's skill and the ejection system's high reliability saved his life.

The aircraft's remains and engines were carefully gathered and delivered to the cargo compartment of our giant "Mriya" [Soviet nickname for the AN-225] for study. The commission worked each day from morning to late evening. And the investigation report has been signed. Incidentally, journalists were not allowed access to the commission's work. I met with V. Menitskiy, official commission member, after the session and asked him to answer several questions.

"Valeriy Yevgenevich, what conclusion did you come to about the causes of the engine shutdown?"

"The answer is simple: THe right engine compressor stalled in the air with a subsequent sharp reduction in thrust."

"Could the pilot 'cut-off' the engine and land on one engine?"

"That possibility was excluded in this situation. Kvochur was in extremely unfavorable, temporary spatial conditions. What he did was the only competent decision."

"Next question. What caused the stall?"

"Time will be required to answer that question," answered Menitskiy. "We need to carefully examine the remains of the power plant. Meanwhile, the opinion formed by the commission is that there are possible several causes each of which could have led to an engine compressor stall. The specific cause will be established after complete dismantling of the engine and its study in Moscow by leading experts of TsAGI [Central Institute of Aerodynamics imeni N.Ye. Zhukovskiy], NIIRAT [Scientific Research Institute of Jet Aviation Technology], and other institutes..."

Thus, V. Menitskiy, as an official accident investigation commission representative, described only what has been done and how the work will be continued but did not specifically answer my question. The French side is also silent in this regard.

Talking with pilots and experts of many aviation companies, I also heard this version from them which, in my view, is entirely possible: A small bird flew into the engine. After the rain, many of them were hiding in the airfield's grass. With the warming of the air, they began to fly. I myself saw small flocks of birds among which there seemed to be aircraft involved in acrobatics. The possibility that one of them could have entered the aircraft's engine has not been eliminated. But this is a personal opinion which is possibly at odds with the conclusion that the commission made and wrote in the accident report.

Recently, many have been worried about Anatoliy Kvochur's health. He is calming everyone right now. This is the third day that Kvochur has been greeting spectators at the airfield from morning until the air show closes. Incidentally, the pilot knows English quite well, is granting interviews to journalists, and has been studying flight documentation for hours.

"Anatoliy," I asked Kvochur today, "What commercial flight are you flying home on?" He looked at me with surprise.

"I have one aircraft: a MiG-29. I will fly home to our country in it!" This wish of Kvochur's who runs cross-country daily, does 40 pushups, and feels that he is in good health, is also supported by R.A. Belyakov, OKB chief designer.

"Look for yourself, Tolya," he said to the pilot in a fatherly manner.

Division General Vuni Phillipe, commander of French SAC [Strategic Air Command] Air Force and Corps General Gegen Christian, commander of French Air Force Air Defense Forces, recently visited the Soviet Pavilion at Le Bourges. They said that the SU-27 is the best aircraft at the air show. The experts are amazed at its survivability, the multitude of redundant systems, the might of its weaponry, and its superior maneuverability. Referring to the MiG-29, Gegen Christian said that it is a very reliable aircraft. Besides, it is cheapest in comparison with other aircraft in its class.

Today, 16 June, we are anticipating a visit to the air show by the Commander-in-Chief of NATO's Armed Forces. The AN-225 "Mriya," the largest and most powerful aircraft in the world, is being prepared for a demonstration flight. All these days, spectators have been waiting for the AN-225's flight, just like pilgrims at a holy place. Everyone has free access to the Mriya, as, incidentally, to all other Soviet aircraft at Le Bourges. Children are especially happy about that.

We are continuing to conclude sales contracts with foreign aviation firms for our aircraft. Yesterday, I learned from official sources: Such a business contract has been signed with Bulgaria for sale of TU-204's and IL-96-300's.

News Conference Held on Plane Crash in Belgium

General Shaposhnikov Briefs Media

LD0607183389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Today in Moscow, at the USSR Foreign Affairs Ministry press center, a briefing was held for Soviet and foreign journalists. Lieutenant-General of Aviation Shaposhnikov, first deputy chief of the Air Force, and Colonel Skurigin, the pilot of the MIG-23 plane which crashed in Belgium, spoke at the briefing. Listen to an excerpt from the briefing. Lt Gen Shaposhnikov speaks:

[Begin recording] [Shaposhnikov] As already reported, on July 4, in a Northern Group of Forces Air Force unit, situated on the territory of the Polish People's Republic, an emergency situation occurred in the MiG-23 aircraft piloted by Comrade Skurigin, when he was carrying out a training flight. As a result of this emergency situation the pilot was forced to leave the plane. The emergency situation emerged at the lowest possible altitude, in

conditions of an acute shortage of time. It was accompanied by a partial failure of an engine, something which was perceived by the pilot as a full failure of the propulsion unit.

After the pilot ejected, the aircraft continued to fly in a Western direction, gaining altitude. And because it ran out of fuel, it came down on Belgian territory. Aboard the plane, there was no other weaponry but guns. Nevertheless, as an object which was not controlled it was a certain danger both for air traffic and for sites on the ground. I wish to note that this is a unique and even unlikely case. And therefore the group heading the flights was not fully mentally prepared for such a turn of events.

In order to assess the entire situation as a whole, it is still insufficient now just to have participants' and eyewitnesses' reports of this incident. Therefore, we have designated a group of experts which has embarked on an investigation of this occurrence. And part of this group has already started working on the aerodrome from where the aircraft took off. Another section of the group, headed by comrade Lieutenant-General Rusanov, chief of the Flight Safety Service of the Armed Forces Air Force, is ready to fly to Belgium as soon as permission for this is received from the Belgian Government.

The MiG-23 aircraft is equipped with a system for automatic registration of flight parameters, something which, after it is decoded, will enable us to identify the source of the emergency situation, the degree of its danger, the work regime of the engine, the altitude and speed of the flight and other facts which will allow us to fully clarify issues that are confused. As a whole, the USSR Air Force command views this incident as annoying and regrets that it took place.

I wish to tell you bluntly that as an official I am not happy with the actions of the Northern Group of Forces Command. I am generally unhappy about this incident. I have not yet reached any final conclusions as to whether the pilot acted knowledgably or unknowledgably, since I need objective evidence about the cause of the emergency situation and about the way it developed. We are prepared to pay the Belgian side for all the damage we have caused. As to the death of the person, I think no financial payments whatever, of course, can compensate for this death, unfortunately. But I think, Comrade Skurigin, the pilot, will make a statement on this subject.

[Skurigin] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen, I have written a letter to the members of the family of Wim Delaere, who was killed. But I would like once again on my own behalf, on behalf of my family, and my two children, to express my deepest condolences and regret about the tragic ending of this occurrence. I wish to say that on my part, could I have foreseen this outcome I would have done all I could so that this boy remained alive. Grieving deeply together with the family of the dead boy, I think, that this family will nevertheless accept my apologies about what has happened. [end recording]

MiG Pilot Speaks on Incident

LD0607164889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1408 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jul (TASS)—"If I'd known that my flight would lead to the tragic consequences—the death of a Belgian youth—then I would never have left my plane's board, Nikolay Skurigin, the pilot of the MiG-23M fighter plane which crashed on 4 July this year on a house on Belgian territory after an unmanned flight. Skurigin whose arm was injured during landing after he ejected, spoke today at a press conference here.

"I have sent a letter to the family of the dead boy"—Col Skurigin said—I would like—via press representatives—once more myself personally, and also on behalf of my family and two children, to express condolences. If I had foreseen such a dramatic end to the flight then I would have done everything I could have to see that the young man remained alive. I hope that in Belgium my sincere apologies will be accepted."

Lieutenant Colonel of Aviation Yevgeny Shaposhinikov, deputy commander-in-chief of the Air Force has called the happening "a unique occurrence" and "a chain of circumstances." Although the general also maintained that the pilot acted in the framework of instructions he has expressed his dissatisfaction with actions of the Air Force leadership of the Northern Group of Forces. General Shaposhinikov admitted that he learned about the occurence from the Western mass media, explaining, the Air Force Command for a long time held to the mistaken version that the plane fell into the sea and sank.

Ryzhkov Meets With Turkish Finance Minister

LD0607164789 Moscow TASS in English 1554 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov today received Ekrem Pakdemirli, Turkish minister of finance and customs and co-chairman of the mixed Soviet-Turkish Commission for Economic Cooperation. Pakdemirli is in Moscow to attend a meeting of the mixed commision's co-chairmen and to sign an inter-governmental agreement on developing border and coastal trade between the Soviet Union and Turkey.

Pakdemirli conveyed to Nikolay Ryzhkov a message from Turkish Prime Minister Turgut Ozal.

Both sides were satisfied with the current state and prospects of Soviet-Turkish relations in various spheres. They discussed possible ways of developing commercial and economic bilateral cooperation, including an increase in deliveries of Soviet machinery, technology

and natural gas to Turkey and of Soviet purchases of Turkish consumer goods, as well as new forms of cooperation, including border and coastal trade, and joint ventures.

Nikolay Ryzhkov mentioned such possible areas of mutual cooperation as Turkish participation in building and modernising Soviet light and food industry enterprises and the strengthening of the production basis of the Soviet building materials' industry, Soviet participation in building railways and other economic projects in Turkey and the modernisation of Turkish industrial enterprises.

Pakdemirli supported Ryzhkov's proposals. He also stressed the need to continue developing air links between the USSR and Turkey, and carry out practical measures which would contribute to promoting bilateral border trade.

Latin America & Caribbean

Cuban General Admits to Corruption Charges in Court

PM2806102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jun 89 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Court of Military Honor Has Begun"]

[Text] Havana, 26 Jun—In the Cuban capital a court of military honor trying Division General Arnaldo Ochoa, who has been charged with corruption, moral degradation, and drug smuggling, has begun. According to National Information Agency (AIN) reports, the court was convened in accordance with the rules of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR] of Cuba, with Division General Ulises Rosales del Toro presiding. He will present his recommendations with regard to Ochoa's case to the highest party, state, and government organs of Cuba.

The first session of the court, which includes 47 FAR generals, heard a speech by FAR Minister Army General Raul Castro, who gave detailed information about A. Ochoa's character, the crimes he has committed, and their assessment by the country's military leadership. Failing to respond to criticism, warnings, and appeals, he noted, Ochoa trod the path which led him step by step toward insulting the revolutionary honor of the military man in our socialist state. Raul Castro pointed out that apart from the charges leveled against him, Ochoa has also been implicated in smuggling ivory and diamonds. The Cuban people are deeply angered by Ochoa's crimes and believe that he should be severely punished.

During the first session General Arnaldo Ochoa appeared before members of the court of military honor and answered questions. He fully admitted to all the charges leveled against him.

Ochoa, Torralba Expelled From Party

PM0607142589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jul 89 Second Edition p4

[TASS report: "Extraordinary Plenum"]

[Text] Havana, 30 Jun—An extraordinary Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee plenum has been held here, which took the decision to remove Division General Arnaldo Ochoa and former Cuban minister of transport, Diocles Torralba, from the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and expel them from the party.

The disgraceful actions of A. Ochoa, of which the Cuban people have been broadly informed, are a betrayal of the motherland and its Revolutionary Armed Forces and a most flagrant violation of ethical and political principles, the plenum stated.

With regard to the personal case of D. Torralba, the plenum said that he has violated ethical and political principles and acted in breach of his official responsibilities, become involved in corruption, and committed amoral acts.

The closing speech at the plenum was given by F. Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and chairman of the republic's Council of State and Council of Ministers.

Envoy to Peru Protests Bomb Incident

LD0607165789 Moscow TASS in English 1638 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS—The Soviet ambassador to Peru made a representation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the country in connection with the fact that in the Peruvian port of Callao, a bomb had been planted and detonated last Wednesday [5 July] under a bus carrying crew members of the trawler ships "Kurasov" and "Lazurny", Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, told reporters at a briefing here today. As a result of the terrorist action 16 Soviet sailors were injured. None was killed. All the injured sailors are getting medical attention.

The Soviet ambassador stated that the Soviet side expected that the incident would be thoroughly investigated and the criminals punished. He also demanded that appropriate action be taken to ensure the safety of Soviet citizens and offices in that country. The Peruvian side expressed a feeling of regret concerning the incident and assured that all necessary steps would be taken to locate guilty persons and ensure the safety of Soviet people.

The Soviet trawler ships were in Callao in accordance with the inter-governmental agreement between the USSR and Peru on cooperation in fishing.

Political & Social

Supreme Soviet 6 Jul Session Reported

Deputies' Discussion 'Stormy'

LD0607112989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Our correspondent Andrey Nikiforov reports on today's [6 July] USSR Supreme Soviet session:

[Nikiforov] At 1000 today the USSR Supreme Soviet session resumed work. Deputies are examining nominations for Soviet Government posts. At the very beginning of the session, Comrade Lukyanov, chairing the session, informed deputies that Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov submitted a proposal to appoint Comrade Nikolay Aleksandrovich Panichev to the vacant post of USSR minister of the machine tool and tool building industry. Deputies agreed to include his nomination among those which are being examined.

The deputies examined the nomination of Vladimir Makarovich Velichko for the post of minister of heavy machine building. Here is how he sees his strategy in managing the industry:

[Begin Velichko recording] Where possible the functions of ministries have to be handed over to enterprises, and it is necessary not to interfere in their operations. The functions carried out by the ministry have to be handed over, on an agreed basis—such functions as external economic relations, of material-technical supplies, of capital construction, and others. We shall actively work toward this end. In addition we shall undertake broadly the introduction and creation of associations which will work independently. We shall conduct an active policy in this respect and will guide others toward this course.

We foresee an increase in efficiency, naturally, in the perfection of economic calculations, and reckon that it is necessary to set up [words indistinct] enterprises on the basis of mixed cooperative-state ownership, and on means of production. It is necessary to implement all forms of financial autonomy. Enterprises will, of course, utilize the most advantageous and best methods for themselves. [end recording]

[Announcer] In his address, Comrade Velichko also spoke about the ministry's intention to pay more attention to the output of consumer goods and to channel a greater share of capital investments—which earlier were allocated to industrial construction—toward solving the housing problem. To date 183,000 people are waiting for housing. A number of deputies took part in examining the nomination. In particular Deputy Babchenko from Dnepropetrovsk submitted a proposal for each minister connected with production to have a precise program of output of consumer goods in his industry.

The voting on the nomination of Vladimir Makarovich Velichko went as follows: One against, four abstained; thus, he was appointed a USSR minister.

Then deputies started examining the nomination of Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov for the post of the minister of the USSR coal industry. In his address he spoke at length about those measures which the ministry intends to take in order to solve the social problems of miners. He touched upon problems of injuries in the industry. At present, in the industry some 600 people perish annually. Comrade Shchadov also touched upon the painful problem of obtaining foreign currency means for the ministry. At present, while selling coal worth 400 million in convertible currency, [currency not specified] and even more to socialist countries, the industry at the same time has not a kopek in foreign currency means.

The discussion was also stormy; many miners—people's deputies—spoke about the hard manual work in mines, the poor equipment, and the often scandalous housing conditions. They do not blame Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov, who became the head of the industry not so long ago and has managed already to do a lot for it. But at the same time they also noted shortcomings in the minister's work, as for example People's Deputy Tsigelnikov from the Kemerovo Oblast:

[Begin Tsigelnikov recording] All the same, in all industrial ministries, in all industrial branches, the administrative-command style of management remains very hardy still. Mikhail Ivanovich is also a representative of such a (?general) type of leader who takes many problems upon himself, and the solution of many questions are locked in the ministry to be solved purely by the minister only. This, in my opinion, reduces the responsibility of his deputies and creates an unwillingness or inability to make decisions. Miners address great claims to the ministry concerning the lack of a link between the work of miners and transport workers. In the course of many years a great amount of coal has burned in storage because the plans of transport and the plans of coal extraction do not coincide. Here, in my opinion, Mikhail Ivanovich has to show a great insistence in working with the ministry of road communication in order that the miners' telegrams are not only empty sounds addressed to the ministry or addressed to the ministry of road transport. The main question is after all: How much coal does our country need? Annually it is planned to increase the coal extraction, but annually a great amount of coal burns in storage. In our opinion a comprehensive scientific examination on the need for coal in the next 10-15 years is necessary, in order that plans are realistic and realistically linked with the needs of our national economy.

The second thing is that coal prices have to be brought in line with world levels. If we do not do this we shall be throwing millions and millions of tonnes of coal to the wind. The increased coal prices will enable the producer to improve the quality of this coal and to strive for higher prices, and the consumer to save on consumption. [end recording]

[Announcer] Comrade Shchadov was appointed by a majority of votes to the post of minister of the coal industry.

At present the session is examining the nomination of Comrade Lemayev for the post of minister of the chemical industry.

Deputies Discuss Lemayev Nomination

LD0607123789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet we are going over the All-Union radio press post in the Kremlin. Vladimir Korablev is at the microphone.

[Korablev] From our news bulletins you already know, esteemed radio listeners, that at today's joint session of the chamber of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities which was opened by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the formation of the composition of the USSR Government was continued. Deputies approved with an absolute majority of votes Vladimir Makarevich Velichko in the post of minister of heavy machine building, and Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov, who has been appointed minister of the USSR's coal industry. Then the deputies set about discussing the nomination of Nikolay Vasiliyevich Lemayev. He is recommended for confirmation in the post of minister of the USSR's chemical industry. I would like to note that Nikolay Ivanovich [as heard] Lemayev started setting forth his program with an analysis of the very serious problems that exist in the industry. In particular, he said that our country is considerably lagging behind the developed capitalist countries in the production of synthetic fibers, washing powders and liquids, and plastics and resins, that the situation must be corrected in the swiftest possible time, and that the market must be fully satisfied with chemical products. He mentioned the fact that social problems are being resolved quite badly in the industry. He also paid a great deal of attention to the solving of ecological issues in different areas of the country where there are large chemical enterprises. The deputies discussing the nomination of comrade Limayev also spoke about this. Many problems have indeed accumulated in the industry today. They must urgently be resolved. The decisive role of the Ministry of the Chemical Industry will consist precisely in this, first and foremost in making the environment more healthy, in increasing the output of chemical products, and in putting into operation new, ecologically clean enterprises for the processing of oil and gas.

The discussion of the nomination of Nikolay Ivanovich Lemayev has been going on for quite a long time. It is going on now as well and we will tell you its results—whether he is approved in the post of minister or not—in our subsequent news bulletins. On that point, I conclude my report on the USSR Supreme Soviet from the Kremlin.

Ryzhkov Addresses Session

LD0607220589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1519 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Speech on ministerial candidacy of Mikhail Ivanovich Shchadov by USSR Council of Ministers Chairman Nikolay Ryzhkov; from a recorded relay of the 6 July Supreme Soviet proceedings in the Kremlin]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, I have approached this rostrum not to defend Comrade Shchadov, but to support his candidacy, to convince you that it is necessary to confirm him in the post of minister. I am firmly convinced that today Comrade Shchadov is the man who should head the coal industry. Comrade Shchadov, in the 5 years that he will be at work evidently needs to give serious thought to the new generation of managers of the coal industry because his age is, unfortunately—it will make one think of a change in generations in the coal industry.

I think that Mikhail Ivanovich is capable of managing the coal industry during these years. I know him because I worked alongside him. At one time when I was working in Siberia as general director of Uralmash [Ural Heavy Machinery Plant] he imposed a hefty fine on me. I remember that well, to this day. [laughter] In 1985 when we were deciding on a minister and the situation in the coal industry was very difficult, I spontaneously participated in meetings of the Council of Ministers, the Council of Ministers Presidium. I must say that every Wednesday the presidium discussed the question of the coal industry. Every Wednesday there was a mass of all sorts of speeches, proposals, and questions. In essence the government devoted half of its activity to two sectors of the national economy, the coal industry, and ferrous metallurgy. There were many discussions, but little was actually done. New people came in, like Comrades Kolpakov and Comrade Shchadov. There were 100 times fewer discussions; far more actually got done. Therefore, in 1985 when we were deciding who would be the minister, one well-informed man said to me: If you want coal, he said, you will appoint Shchadov, but if you want an elegant minister, then appoint someone else. I think that we made no mistake, and that he really is a man directly from the production side. He knows the subtleties of all of these questions. Therefore, I will not dwell any further on Comrade Shchadov's candidacy. I am convinced that he should work in the coal industry.

I have come to the rostrum to express the opinion of the government to some extent on the questions raised at today's session and on the questions raised during our activity and at the congress. Before the congress, I visited coal mining regions where I met coal miners and saw that we really do have very many unresolved questions. Therefore, I should evidently express my opinion today.

In the first place, I would not like to offend anyone; it is inadmissible to belittle any profession and extol another profession. We are all equal, as they say, in our country.

Everyone does his job and everyone makes his contribution to the development of our state. I understand that we, and everyone else, understands that the profession of coal miner is the most dangerous, the hardest one today, unfortunately. It is even perhaps to some extent a heroic profession. In the conditions in which they work, a kilometer deep or even deeper at times, few professions have to work in such conditions. Therefore, I consider that the questions which have been raised here today demand a solution, a very serious solution. This is a very great concern for Comrade Shchadov.

Well, in the first place, if one talks of production, much has done in this sphere. By the way, I have always supported the idea of this sector having its own machine-building base. It has one, and what was produced by the coal miners' own machine-building sector in its time had a beneficial effect, in my opinion. Now the machines have gotten better, but nonetheless, there are very great reserves here and I think that Comrade Shchadov must work very fundamentally to alleviate the miners' work and of course the work of linked sectors.

In my view the most important question today is the social question of the miners. I would place the miners' social questions in the foreground. Well, it arose historically that you have a mine with a settlement around it. That is how things developed, as they say, 200 years ago. You know, evidently, and today one comrade referred to it, I was indeed born into a miner's family. I was really born at such a mine; I really lived there in such a settlement. I know what it is like. Therefore, Mikhail Ivanovich will take great steps but I think, Mikhail Ivanovich, that we need a very serious action program regarding the social development of our miners' towns and so on.

I have already said that during the election campaign I was in Kemerovo and in my time, as they say, I have seen many mines and many miners' settlements. I think we can no longer tolerate what is being done in Prokopyevsk and in other mining towns in Kemerovo Oblast. We must find a solution, a solution from the sector, evidently a state solution, evidently a solution from the Supreme Soviet, from the commission. Perhaps we will really have to tighten our belts in some areas in the next quinquennium, but we must resolve these most complicated problematic issues of the development of mining towns. We can no longer leave these settlements in their present state, the ones which I saw when I was in Siberia.

That is my attitude toward social matters, to the social development of mining towns. I think that it is our sacred duty, in the end, to the working class, to those who work under the ground, and we must help them.

Some questions were raised here about the coal balance. What can I say, comrades? It really has come about that today the country has excess coal. We must really sort out fundamentally how we are to manage things. Of course, you should not think that we are all looking only to produce more coal and so on. You understand that calculations are always based on the coldest winter. That is the correct way to make calculations. We have learned from bitter experience. When we took the average winter and the winter turned out to be cold we were in an extremely difficult situation in our country. Well, it turned out that this winter was very warm and we have very large stocks of coal. Therefore, I think that it is correct to raise the question. It is not an end in itself for us to extract coal for it to lie around on the surface. We must work out some more flexible system so as not to permit such a situation. As we have excess coal, we must evidently be more flexible and perhaps sell it, to sell it for foreign currency, for other money, for barter deals and so on. I think that it is quite right to raise this question.

It seems to me that Comrade Shchadov and the whole ministry should pay particular attention. Today for some reason the agro-industrial complex is remaining silent, perhaps they have not been given the floor, but they are greatly in debt to the population of our country. I consider it impermissible, Comrade Shchadov, that you, while possessing such vast stocks, above-normal stocks of coal at the depots, have permitted such a state of affairs that we are still unable to trade in coal in our country. We think up norms, 1, 1 1[2], 2 tonnes and so on. Today we have the possibility of selling as much as anyone needs. If someone needs 5 tonnes, let him take 5 tonnes, let him buy 5 tonnes. Such possibilities exist. That is simply inefficiency. Evidently Comrade Shchadov must carry out some very fundamental work as must Gossnab [state committee for material and technical supply], together with the republics, which are also moving very slowly. A paradox occurs, there is coal and there is no coal, say, in the villages. There is coal, or there is no coal in some workers' settlement. I think that this problem must be resolved, and the quicker the better. We have given Comrade Voronin the task of resolving this problem in general in 1990. I think that if he, as they say, does not implement it we will hold him responsible at government level as, evidently, will the Supreme Soviet.

With regard to above-plan foreign currency or, to be more accurate, with regard to foreign currency, I think that we will examine that question. Of course, we will support selling abroad everything that the miners are able to produce above the state order. In accordance with this we will acquire what they want for development.

I agree with the last two questions, too, about the style and particularly about the management of this sector. I think that extremely vast potentials exist here. I was convinced that what his predecessors did here was wrong when they deprived the mines of complete autonomy, when the mines virtually became sections, when they had virtually no rights. However, I remember that the mine and the settlement are one single whole and no one has ever split them up. They created associations and deprived the mines of their autonomy. Why did we accept that? It seems to me, Mikhail Ivanovich, I know

that you were not the initiator of this; I know that this was done by your predecessors. I know how we were taught at the works, how things were to be done. We at that time understood that this should not be done. Today you must find a system which would make it possible to really give autonomy to the mines for their production and social development.

The final issue. In my view it is right to raise the question of ecology. What Mikhail Ivanovich said here, that he would cross over the borderline to a situation where more land is being recultivated than being taken out of use, that is all to the good. I support the proposal that we need a very serious law on this question. It will in the end make all of us work, make all of us respect the law. As they say, you have taken the land, you must give it back to nature properly. I support this and the sooner we make such a law, the sooner we adopt such a law, the better. Thank you. [applause]

USSR Supreme Court Elected

LD0607163889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Excerpt] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Igor Zorin reports from the Moscow radio studio.

[Zorin] The joint evening session of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet started an hour ago. It is chaired by Comrade Lukyanov who read the agenda, and deputies got down to examining the issue of electing the USSR Supreme Court. Yevgeniy Alekseyevich Smolentsev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, made a report. He gave character references to all the candidates to the Supreme Court, which number over 100 people, including 81 people's assessors. The majority are men, but there are two women. In addition, the 15 chairmen of the Republican Supreme Courts will be members of the Supreme Court.

Looking at the list of candidates proposed to the session, I will say that 12 judges are being proposed for the Supreme Court for the first time, while 13 have already worked on it. Nationalities are represented in the following way here: There are Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Latvians, an Azerbaijani, an Abkhaz, and an Avar. Deputy Vorontsov asked Comrade Smolentsev why, in the period when a law-governed state is being formed, there are no nonparty members among the 29 judges. The answer was that that had been the current practice and the criticism would be taken into account in the future. True, there are eight nonparty members among the people's assessors, among those who have been nominated. The age of candidates: Among the judges, 11 people are 40-50 years old, 10 are 50-60 years old, and 8 are over 60.

On behalf of the Committee on Issues of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order and the Committee on Glasnost Issues—I will call it that to be brief—Comrade Kalmykov spoke. He familiarized the participants with details of the discussion about candidates at a preliminary stage. He said that the committee had no significant remarks—including discussion about deputy chairmen—maybe only remarks about their age. The discussion of this issue is continuing now. Deputies Minnullin, Golin, Sagdeyev, Lubenchenko, and Vorontsov have already spoken. Vorontsov suggested that the practice for judges to withdraw from the party while working in the country's supreme judicial body should be introduced; later, they can be restored to their status of Communists. Gryazin from Estonia said that the formation of the Supreme Court does not take into account the interests of all republics in terms of representation. At the moment Comrade Gdlyan is speaking from the rostrum. He said that in his view the policy of the USSR Supreme Court had been unstable, and it used to rush either toward liberalization or toward increased strictness, and our court, he said, still depends, alas, on rule by telephone. [passage omitted]

More on Supreme Court Elections

LD0607175989 Moscow TASS in English 1740 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 6 TASS - By TASS parliamentary correspondent reporting from the Kremlin:

The Soviet Parliament suspended cabinet confirmation hearings today for the time Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov will be away (he left for Bucharest to attend a meeting of the Warsaw Treaty Political Consultative Committee) and began debates in the afternoon on the line-up of the nation's Supreme Court.

The chairman of the Supreme Court, Yevgeniy Smolentsev, who had been chosen to this post by the Congress of People's Deputies, introduced his candidates.

The candidacies had been earlier discussed for three days at parliamentary committees and commissions.

Smolentsev proposed electing 29 judges and 81 people's assessors to the Supreme Court. The absolute majority of the judges, he said, were highly experienced professionals: 14 of them had worked in courts for more than 20 years, and 13 had worked between 10 and 20 years.

The discussion that began following his report dealt not so much with the candidates but with ways to secure genuine independence of judges.

And although the draft law on the status of judges is a separate item on the session agenda, the discussion was very keen.

Those deputies who are lawyers by profession criticized, specifically, the Supreme Court for its unstable policies: First, it calls upon courts in the country to pass tougher sentences, then it calls for unjustified liberalisation.

Very radical judgements were made, including suggestions that judges, once elected, should leave political parties and organisations, including the Communist Party or people's fronts.

When it came to discussing the proposed line-up, the first candidate, Sergey Gusev, nominated once again to the post of first deputy chairman of the Supreme Court, suffered a defeat.

162 deputies voted against his confirmation, 127 people voted for and 73 abstained.

The candidate's defeat was probably due to his being a conspicuous figure in the judiciary system at the time before perestroika. Gusev's excessively emotional remarks also seemed to have played a negative part.

The following men were chosen by the majority of votes: Aleksandr Filatov, 66, who had held the same position in the previous Supreme Court, and Robert Tikhomirov, 61, who had headed the judicial board for criminal cases at the Supreme Court. Other members of the country's supreme judiciary body have also been elected.

Supreme Soviet 7 Jul Proceedings Reported

Deputies To Consider More Nominations

LD0707090489 Moscow TASS in English 0650 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—By TASS parliamentary correspondent:

The USSR Supreme Soviet today continues its work to form central departments.

Today the legislature is to consider the composition of the collegium of the USSR procurator's office and state arbitration.

Hearings on the composition of the government were suspended on Thursday in view of the departure of Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov for Bucharest to attend a meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, and will be resumed next week.

The parliamentarians are yet to consider more than 20 nominations for the posts of heads of ministries and state committees.

Deputies Discuss Procuracy Personnel

LD0707093389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Vladimir Korablev report from USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] At today's joint session of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, which was opened by Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, the formation of the law protection bodies was continued. The deputies have begun examining the composition of the collegium of the USSR Procurator's Office. USSR General Procurator Comrade Sukharev, presenting the 14 candidates to the collegium to the participants in the session, noted that among them were a number of leading lawyer-scientists. Six people are being endorsed for the first time, including a representative from Latvia. Comrade Sukharev presented a fairly detailed picture of each of the candidates. The debates on them then began. Many deputies made a number of serious complaints to the general procurator over the fact that representatives of the Central Asian republics, Kazakhstan and Transcaucasia, had not been included in the composition of the collegium. Aleksandr Yakovlevich Sukharev agreed with the deputies' remarks and said that this situation would be put right.

Yuriy Khamzonovich Kalmykov, deputy chairman of the Committee on Issues of Legislation, Legality, and Law and Order of the USSR Supreme Soviet, acquainted the Supreme Soviet members with the results of his committee's work and that of the Committee on Issues of Glasnost, Rights, and Appeals of Citizens, where a preliminary examination had been made of the candidates of the Procurator's Office Collegium noting that three candidates who had been recommended to the post of deputy general procurator had not received a majority of deputies' votes in these committees.

Well, the deputies have not started voting on the composition of the Procurator's Office Collegium. It is still going on, and we shall report on the results of it in our later news bulletins. Here I conclude this reportage from the Kremlin on the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

'Thousands' View Gromyko's Body in Moscow

LD0607230389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Jul 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today Moscow bade farewell to Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko, a major political and state figure in the country, a union-level personal pensioner.

Thousands and thousands of Muscovites came to the Central House of the Soviet Army. [video shows line of people filing into a building]

The coffin with the body of the deceased is on a pedestal amidst flowers in the Red Banner hall. There are many wreaths in the hall. Among them is a wreath from the CPSU Central Committee, the Supreme Soviet, and the Soviet Government and the honors which celebrated the many years of activity of Comrade Gromyko in state posts: two hammer and sickle gold medals of Hero of Socialist Labor, seven Orders of Lenin, Orders of Labor Red Banner, the Badge of Honor, medals of the Soviet Union. [video shows coffin on a pedestal, medals on display, guard of honor in groups of three at each corner of coffin]

In the guard of honor were Comrades Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Chebrikov, Biryukova, Vlasov, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, Yazov, Baklanov. [video shows guard of honor]

The leaders of the Communist Party and the Soviet State expressed deep condolences to Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko's nearest and dearest. [video shows Soviet leaders in line approaching seated relatives; Ryzhkov approaches first, followed by Ligachev. Chebrikov, Slyunkov, Yazov, Biryukova are also seen briefly]

Also in the funeral watch by the coffin were the chairmen of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet, deputy chairmen of the Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers, peoples deputies of the USSR, ministers, leaders of party, local soviet and public organizations and well-known military leaders. [video shows public filing past]

The heads of the diplomatic representations of foreign countries accredited in the USSR came to honor the memory of the deceased.

At Novodevichye cemetery where Andrey Andreyevich Gromyko was buried there was a funeral meeting.

Glacier Threatens Pamir Mountain Region

LD0107073989 Moscow World Service in English 0701 GMT 1 Jul 89

[Text] An alarming situation is reported from the Pamir Mountains where the Medvezhiky glacier has started sliding down.

The huge glacier is 16 km long and it has stopped a mountain river. A big lake has formed as a result. This makes real a repetition of the calamities in 1963 and 1973. A torrent of water can rush down into a densely populated valley.

To ensure the safety of the local population, temporary settlements are being set up in the mountains as a precaution, with the possible torrent to go down away from them.

Ryzhkov Discusses Decision on Gas Exports

LD0607222289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1551 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Relay of the USSR Supreme Soviet session proceedings in the Kremlin on 6 July—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Ryzhkov] Comrades, let me give you some information. He [Chemical Minister-nominee Lemayev] cannot answer the question [on the fuel reserves] because he is a producer, but not a distributor. In the past few days we have tackled the issues raised in telegrams which you have sent as well as the requests and letters of which we have received, many directly from the localities and various questions. Yesterday evening [5 July] the decision was made to remove 1,500,000 tonnes of gasoline and 600,000 tonnes of diesel fuel from our exports in the 3d quarter, that is, the current quarter. This decision was made yesterday at 1000 in the evening. We are removing that from our exports and transferring it to agriculture. [passage omitted]

Nikonov Speaks at Far Eastern Fishing Conference

OW3006134589 Vladivostok Maritime Service in Russian 0715 GMT 29 Jun 89

[From the "Pacific Ocean" program]

[Text] In the morning, the fishermen's conference was addressed by Comrade Nikonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The address was quite long. We do not have the opportunity to carry it in full. Therefore, we offer you a fairly short portion. Here is the recording:

[Begin Nikonov recording] Respected comrades: Your conference, which has been convened right after the first Congress of People's Deputies of our country, is discussing very important and serious questions relating to one of the main and vitally important problems, our country's food problem.

This basin, the Far Eastern (?potential), is of particular significance to our state. Here, more than 40 percent of commercial fish for food is caught and processed. Here, a powerful production potential has been created whose fixed assets already exceed R8 million. It is most regretful, however, that some questions on which people's lives depend—social and daily life issues—have not been completely solved, and the issues have now congealed into serious problems that must be solved without delay. It is very important that the possibilities of every branch and subbranch, the opportunities of every kray and oblast are fully utilized for production that is possible in the specific natural and climatic conditions.

I would like to draw attention to one quite serious question to which traditionally there is an incorrect attitude both in the party and in the country—from top to bottom, from the party's Central Committee, let us say, to the team, brigade, detachment, or other minor

labor collective level. Tasks are set. At the level of the whole country, they are set in specific figures. The issue is discussed in the oblast and kray. Overall tasks—as a rule are not addressed to anyone—are set in general figures. The same happens in the rayon as well as in the collective farm and state farm.

If we [words indistinct] your enterprises, if we will [words indistinct] in this way in the future, in other words with this kind of unspecific approach, then this will again result in failures, and we will again find that the promises made to the people will not be fulfilled. The following points must be set down: what, when, who, what means, the time frames, volumes, quality levels, schedules, the exact geographic point of production of any product, and who will fulfill the task.

No one will limit salaries. We welcome all the best forms of labor organization, enterprise, and even—if you wish—business acumen. We are talking about the organization of leasing, the highest true form of cost accounting. We are talking about cost accounting and stock associations into which a person could invest his money and receive a certain percentage of the profit of the enterprise's production.

This is why—however you accept this criticism directed at you—a great deal depends on you present here, and workers of scientific and research establishments will approach this question in the proper manner. There are 5,000 of them concentrated here; this will.... [Nikonov recording abruptly ends]

I repeat, comrades, that the speech was very positive. It dealt with problems common to the whole country, and a lot of attention was paid to restructuring the economy, including fishing industry. I personally expected more from this speech. However, this is my very personal view.

More on Remarks in Vladivostok

OW3006131889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 29 Jun 89

[L. Savitskiy video report from the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] As you know comrades, Viktor Petrovich Nikonov has visited Vladivostok. He has taken part in the conference of Far East fishermen.

[Begin Savitskiy report] Routes and paths through the ocean rarely intersect, but even here in their home port fishermen may go for years without meeting one another. More often they discuss their problems over the radio during captain's hour while on fishing expeditions. [Video shows vessels at anchor in bay, Vladivostok shoreline.]

This is why things that were previously hushed up and which accumulated over the years were expressed so acutely at the conference which is being attended by the CPSU Central Committee secretary and heads of major departments of the country. [Video cuts to show conference in progress with Nikonov visible in the Presidium.] Representatives of fishing collectives of Maritime Kray, Kamchatka, Sakhalin, Chukotka, and Khabarovsk Kray are raising the issue of unfair allocations from profits. Currently, 41 kopeks out of every ruble go to the ministry, and only 15 go to the enterprise. Many social issues have not been solved. Every third person working in the main branch of the Far East national economy does not have housing. [video cuts to show Nikonov addressing the conference]

[Begin Nikonov recording] The new heightened thinking of people, realism in the assessment of the situation, impartial as well as specific criticism of specific officials for things they have not done, actions that slow down your common cause, or for their passivity which delays the solution of major and important problems.... [Nikonov recording abruptly ends]

We have one solution, to work conscientiously. This idea was supported by conference participants who discussed ways to perfect the fishing economy complex of the Far East. [end Savitskiy report]

3 July Supreme Soviet Session Reported

Mostovoy Takes Floor

LD0307154889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1402 GMT on 3 July begins broadcasting a recorded relay of proceedings at the 3 July USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin. The relay is introduced by Igor Zorin.

Gorbachev, who is chairing the session, declares the session open. He announces that Gromyko died yesterday. A minute's silence is observed in his memory. Gorbachev then praises Gromyko's achievements.

At 1405 GMT Gorbachev summarizes the work of the Supreme Soviet last week, and lists some of the posts yet to be filled. Gorbachev says a draft law on self government is to be discussed tomorrow, it is a very important law, and therefore it is most important to take an organized approach to the matter.

At 1410 GMT Gorbachev suggests the formation of the government should be completed this week. While laughing, he suggests holding sessions. He says that with a rational approach that should not be necessary.

At 1412 GMT Primakov begins to speak. He speaks about the session's procedure for adopting decisions. He proposes that a simple majority be the rule for passing any decisions at sessions. A vote is held. There are four votes against and four abstentions. The rule is adopted.

At 1417 GMT Gorbachev suggests moving on to discussing candidacies; the candidacy of Mostovoy as State Committee for Material and Technical Supply [Gossnab] chairman and deputy chairman of USSR Council of Ministers is to be discussed.

At 1420 GMT Mostovoy takes the floor. He calls for acceleration of legislation on tax reform, prices formation, mobility of resources. There should be an antimonopoly act to introduce competition into the economy.

At 1425 GMT Mostovoy calls for a change in structure of production. We must look at ecology through another prism, he says. He cites the case of cement factories in the Ukraine which were recently closed while others were being opened elsewhere. Some factories should be restructured to produce equipment for ecology.

At 1430 he speaks on mismanagement: 25 percent of agricultural produce is going to waste. Poor storage and transportation are largely to blame. There are spare capacities which should be used. He cites examples of this in the coal industry. Technological developments in steel smelting could save much metal in this process. "The losses are colossal". Packaging is another area where there is a lot of waste. All the waste products from industry should be used to make savings.

At 1435 GMT Mostovoy calls for an increase in the production of railroad cars. He says if he is elected he will devote all his efforts to fulfill the trust placed in him.

At 1437 GMT Gorbachev says Mostovoy has answered most of the questions. Gorbachev asks whether he is to answer questions. It is decided that there will be "an exchange of opinions."

In response to an indistinct question, Mostovoy says he would need 20 to 25 minutes to answer it and that the deputy should approach him individually.

In response to another question, Mostovoy says machinery must, in general, be renewed and its quality improved.

Deputy Yermalayev from Omsk says he doubts the ability of the peasant to feed the people. However, if they had sufficient machinery, they could not only feed the population but provide a surplus for export. Gossnab should help peasants to buy machinery.

Mostovoy Elected

LD0307162889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1445 GMT on 3 July continues its recorded relay of the 3 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1445 GMT, Yermalayev goes on to lament the poor transport and shortage of fuel in the countryside.

Deputy Larionov from Yakutiya speaks of the material-technical supply situation in northern regions of the country. He refers to this as the area's "vital blood". He supports the candidacy of Mostovoy for the posts in question saying that he is capable of introducing radical changes in the material-technical supply situation and pointing to his successes in the ukraine.

At 1450 GMT, Deputy Fisko describes Mostovoy as "an extremely energetic person" and says that he has gained great support in the commissions.

At 1455 GMT, a vote is held on whether questioning should continue. Gorbachev allows Deputy Savchak to ask one more question. Savchak says he is very afraid that the gap between wholesale procurements and retail supply will grow. He does not support Mostovoy's candidacy.

At 1500 GMT, a vote is held on Mostovoy's candidacy. Sixty four vote against his adoption and 30 abstain. Mostovoy is elected.

At 1503 GMT, the session moves on to a discussion of Yazov's confirmation as USSR minister of defense. Yazov begins to speak.

He points out that the country's supreme political leadership makes defense policy rather than the Ministry of Defense. The ministry itself controls the execution of this policy. He brings up the topic of relieving students of military service. This would undoubtedly affect the combat capacity of the Armed Forces, he says. There is also the question of conscripts serving in their own area. If this occurred, he asks, who would serve in the western, southern groups of forces?

At 1510 GMT, Yazov says that the Army also participates in building railways in sparsely populated areas, for example in Armenia, after the earthquake.

Discipline could be better, he says, and measures are being taken to improve it. "Of course there are criminals whom we punish and who must take responsibility," he states.

Combat statutes have been drawn up in accordance with the new military doctrine, Yazov says, explaining that there are questions about the dismissal of officers in connection with the cuts in the country's Armed Forces.

At 1512 GMT, Yazov states that the 40th Army was withdrawn from Afghanistan with virtually no casualties. The Ministry of Defense is building housing for the officers who are released.

On the cutting of INF missiles, Yazov says that the schedule is being strictly observed by both sides. Neither side has criticisms to make of the other. 3,500 of the 10,000 tanks which the USSR is to withdraw from the western part of the Soviet union Have been withdrawn, he

says. Old tanks are being destroyed. It has been decided that no one is to be taken away from harvesting activities to participate in mobilization training, he affirms.

At 1523 GMT, Yazov begins to take questions. The first asks whether the new military doctrine still offers the USSR adequate defense. Yazov cites figures to prove that the country's defense will not be impaired.

At 1525 GMT, in response to another question, Yazov says that the USSR cannot support a hired army. He cites the salaries of soldiers in the U.S. Army. Gorbachev interrupts to compare this with the salaries of USSR officials.

At 1530 GMT, a question is posed about the poor provision for officers' families. Yazov says it would be desirable for an officer to receive a larger salary, but there are already certain increments for certain circumstances.

At 1531 GMT a deputy expresses concern that technological research will suffer as a result of military cuts. This will not be the case, Yazov says.

At 1535 GMT a deputy asks: what is the essence of democratization in the Armed Forces? More commanders have begun to rely on party and Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Houth League] meetings, he says, and are holding meetings with subordinates.

At 1538, a deputy asks when Vladivostok will open. Yazov says it has never been closed. In the first 6 months of this year, 39 foreign delegations have been there. He cites figures on the cost of building in the city to make it fit to receive delegations. Yazov says he has about 400 questions; Gorbachev reminds him he has 5 minutes left to speak.

At 1541, the announcer says the report on the proceedings will continue at 2000 (1600 GMT).

Yazov Answers Questions

LD0307171289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1600 GMT on 3 July resumes its recorded relay of the 3 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1600 GMT Yazov replies to questions on arms sales, which he says are controlled by the USSR Ministry of Defense and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He goes on to describe the Army's contribution to eliminating the consequences of the armenian earthquake. Deputy Mikheyev says that there are instances where soldiers shoot at each other, instances of bullying, and aircraft landing on red square. He asks what is being done to improve discipline. Yazov says submarine accidents have nothing to do with discipline and dwells on some details of a recent accident. He goes on to talk of the problem of bullying in the Armed Forces. Yazov is asked about the desirability of setting up an emergency accident and rescue service in the USSR. He is asked why Soviet nuclear tests are always carried out at the beginning of August, coinciding with the Hiroshima tragedy anniversary?

At 1610 GMT Yazov says that, on the whole, civil defense troops work well as long as their tasks are short. If a given task is too long, things begin to go wrong. He says testing dates will be considered, although blasts are essential. He notes that the USSR had a long moratorium, but it must not begin to lag behind the United States. Yazov replies to Gorbachev's question about radiation dangers to the population, saying that competent bodies see no danger here—nowhere in the USSR is radiation over and above background radiation.

At 1615 GMT a question is asked about Armenian earthquake damage to military installations. Yazov says that 1,500 wagons of munitions were near Spitak, but there was no damage. Four dangerous wagons were exploded by the Army. Students remained in Armenia to continue their work. Yazov goes on to dwell on what is being done to immortalize Zhukov's memory. A monument will be built in Moscow. He will have his own area in the Armed Forces museum, as well.

At 1618 GMT Gorbachev says that 1 hour has elapsed, instead of the 45 minutes that were allotted and appeals for the proceedings to be faster. He declares a 20-minute intermission.

At 1619 GMT the announcer explains that this was the first part of a joint sitting of both parliament chambers. Mostovoy's position as head of the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] is confirmed, and Yazov's candidacy will continue to be debated.

Yazov Candidacy Discussed

LD0307175989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1620 GMT on 3 July continues its recorded relay of the 3 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1600 GMT a deputy from Petrozavodsk asks Yazov to reinstate Lieutenant General Yevsyukov, who has been slandered and whose complaints fell on deaf ears. Even Yazov's appraisal of the said general differed sharply from his own earlier assessment.

At 1626 GMT Deputy Patsalyuk asks about structural reorganization of the Armed Forces. Reductions in numerical strength should not adversely affect the Army's combat capability. He says the Army should shed a great deal of dead wood, such as sports battallions. The Army has 60,000 people working in industr Patsalyuk says cuts should not affect the nation's best military educational establishments, and that the role of political

bodies in the Army is a wholly negative one. He claims that people are told that if they do not vote for generals, it will be assured that they will lose their party cards.

Patsalyuk criticizes overly generous retirement conditions for Army top brass: General staff inspectors do not do a great deal, but have full pay, personal cars, etc. The role of the general staff should be to supervise the strategic development of the Soviet Armed Forces. Why should strategic missile troops and air defense troops be separate services?, he asks.

At 1634 GMT Deputy Gayer says she has many servicemen as her constituents. The Army is always the first to come to people's aid when natural disasters occur. The ties between the Army and the people should be very close. she regrets instances of bullying in the Army. She calls for more apartments for servicemen and says it is unjust for servicemen who have left the Army to go where new housing has been built for them. What if they do not wish to live there? Social, cultural, and welfare amenities and facilities are frequently poor, too, in Army units she has visited. Local soviets should help build more clubs, etc. In the Far East soldiers have to drink water with inordinately high iron content! She asks how long this can be allowed to continue. She pleads for servicemen to have better lives when they leave the service.

At 1640 GMT Deputy Kalashnikov takes the floor. He represents the committee in charge of youth affairs. He says Yazov's responses fail to remove concerns. He quotes a recent OGONEK article critical of the conditions in which officers are forced to live. In Kalashnikov's own town of Bobruysk there are two toilets for 60 people and two bathrooms. In order to have a warm bath for his daughter, the officer must chop some wood first. Kalashnikov says Yazov must demand more money from the Supreme Soviet for Army personel's upkeep. Kalashnikov then makes the following point: Yazov is insensitive to people's needs and to the injustices with which they have to cope. Why should it be said that Yazov and Yazov alone can be minister, just because he has World War II experience. After all, we have other high officers with experience of an altogether more recent and different war. Kalashnikov says he has Gromov in mind and calls on deputies not to vote on Yazov.

At 1645 GMT Deputy Olekas takes the floor. He says no reply has been given to the questions of why it is not possible to have national troops and why it is that lads cannot do their Army service where they live, in their own republics. He criticizes the fact that sick people are also called up—even invalids get draft papers. This must not be allowed, and the relevant order dating back to 1987 must be revoked. He criticizes Yazov's attitude to bullying. He says that in Lithuania as many people were lost as in Afghanistan and he does not support Yazov's candidacy.

At 1650 GMT Deputy Auyelbekov takes the floor. The USSR Ministry of Defense must radically change its relations with local authorities everywhere, he says. There must be more cooperation. There are towns with mixed military civilian populations and their status is ill-defined. Ministers should pay more visits to provinces.

At 1654 GMT Deputy Tutov takes the floor. He says Soviet Armed Forces reflect society's problems. For 4 and ½ years he and others in the Army have been waiting for restructuring. Servicemen are poorly paid and poorly protected by the law. There is a lot that is being done for show, for visiting commissions. He says the Army had high hopes of Yazov but these proved to be in vain. The Army has been turned against the people—there have been instances of this. What did Yazov do to prevent it?

He says economic work squeezes out training and other duties. The Army needs a new minister. He wants Moiseyev who has great authority among servicemen.

Deputies Speak For, Against Yazov

LD0307185989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1658 GMT on 3 July continues its recorded relay of the 3 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin. At 1658 GMT Deputy Gdakayev takes the floor. He says reserve officers—many of them—have lost their health during service. They do not receive benefits, they should, such as good housing and health care. Letters were sent to all sorts of central authorities but the letters remain unanswered. He says people in Lithuania are called emigres and occupants. He criticizes the republican law on the national language, and the republican campaign against Russians, who are alleged to bear the blame for whatever problems the republic experiences. People want to go to their native homes, return to the places from whence they hail, where they will be respected. There is applause.

At 1704 GMT Marshal of the Soviet Union Akhromeyev takes the floor. Is Yazov capable of organizing the country's defense?, he asks. Is he capable of fulfilling his responsible duties? This is what should be debated above all. The Army now has 4 million people and it is a complex organism. Akhromeyev says he has known Yazov for 30 years, and knows he is capable of maintaining the forces' combat peacetime readiness at a proper level. He is capable of this, he stresses, and offers more praise for Yazov. Yazov is a patriot, devoted to the motherland and the party. Akhromeyev has three requests for Yazov: raise the quality of work; provide housing for officers—more must be done here, even though the ministry is working a great deal on this—and protect officers from price increases. He says he supports Yazov.

At 1710 GMT Deputy Medvedev speaks. Appointments should be of strategic value, he says. He praises the appointments of Abalkin, Maslyukov, and Ryzhkov—they are strategists. Others are talented tacticians, such

as the new head of Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply]. It is not a minister's function to be a tactician. Medvedev says he respects comrade Yazov very much, but generals think in terms of past wars—they are bit old. He says he will vote against Yazov. We do not want inflexibility, we want younger people.

At 1715 GMT Valentina Adamovna Kiseleva speaks. The Army must gather the harvest, build roads, and help the economy—this is what Yazov's speech boils down to, this is how she understands it. Young servicemen leave the forces because of the poor conditions therein. She says Yazov ignored her question about how many generals there are. Comrade Lizichev told her the United States has 1073 generals, but she was told the USSR cut 1,400 generals—does this mean the Soviet Army is bereft of generals altogether? The Army is not very professional—lads come back saying they had firing practice six or seven times only! Kiseleva criticizes cuts in numerical strength and says no self-respecting country would throw its people out like that. She will vote against Yazov.

At 1720, Deputy Advadze takes the floor. The Army needs better housing, living and retirement conditions. How does Yazov contemplate Army restructuring? He has no concepts here, no strategy. Advadze's question about a hired Army has remained unanswered. As for conscripts doing service in places where they live, Yazov's attitude to this was negative. If some republics desire this, why not? Why shouldn't the Defense Ministry agree to this? Yazov failed to convince Advadze that the ministry cannot release 175,000 students in time for them to start their higher education.

At 1725 GMT Deputy Lapygin takes the floor. The Army is his life. He fought well during the last war. Restructuring poses many complex tasks for the Army. The fact that the Army went with the people is his achievement, along with his colleagues. Lapygin says cuts posed problems, too, and says that the Army is now restructuring itself. Shortcomings also exist: We must provide facilities and amenities for the 500,000 being laid off. Please reconsider the 176,000 (as heard) students in the Army, he says. He expresses support for Yazov.

At 1728 GMT Deputy Yarin speaks. He asks deputies to stop peddling the national question, explaining that this has dangerous consequences. By peddling this question, you help the forces which are against the party, the selfsame party which has won the right to speak the whole truth to the people and not just half-truths, he says. Yarin asks Yazov to help have the students released in time for their studies. We waste valuable time on digressions, he says, and we must concentrate on the issues at hand and be constructive.

Pavlov Responds to Queries

LD0307202389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1731 GMT on 3 July continues its recorded relay of the 3 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1731 GMT Gorbachev begins to speak. He says that the defense council membership will have to be examined during a closed sitting. Gorbachev says Yazov has not had too much time, he has only been minister for 2 years. Gorbachev says he knows Yazov's pluses and minuses; he has the potential to come to grips with all the duties of his post. He says the question of students must be worked out and seen through to completion. Republican requests must also be properly examined. The Army must not be weakened. Gorbachev requests support for Yazov's candidacy and asks if there are any questions for him. There are no questions, and a vote is held: 256 are for, 77 against, and 66 abstained. Gorbachev says that a minimum of 216 votes are needed; thus Yazov is appointed USSR Minister of Defense. There is a brief applause.

Gorbachev says comrades Medvedev and Olekas wrote him a note stressing respect for their common values. Leaders will fail to cope with their own tasks if they do not deal with the issues of the nationalities policy thoroughly, but the first requirement is a respectful attitude and leaders here must give a good example and lead at the front. Gorbachev says visits by ministers to various places are to be encouraged. He says everyone is responsible for peace in the common home of the USSR. He declares an intermission until 1600 [1200 GMT].

At 1755 GMT reportage on the afternoon session begins, Lukyanov debates V.S. Pavlov's candidacy for finance minister. Pavlov takes the floor. He says the financial situation is worrying now. There are difficulties paying wages in many regions of the country. Ways out of this situation must be found. The main thrust of the coming work is to reorganize cash flow along horizontal lines, replacing the present vertical lines. Thus the yield for each ruble that has been invested will be increased. Cost-conscious measures must be enhanced, and additional resources must be found.

At 1800 GMT Pavlov replies to questions. This is not the time to make the state bank independent. Turnover tax must be reconsidered. The whole issue of indirect taxation must also be reconsidered. This must be tied in with pricing reforms. Budget deficits must be borne out equally, so the total of R35 billion for 1989 will be spread thus: R11 billion will be borne by the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the remainder by union republics. Pavlov says the printing of money depends on better overall financial control. He is asked what happened to the R40 billion set aside for individual housing construction mentioned in March plenum. Pavlov corrects this figure: It should be R3.5 billion. He says he is in favor of better economy rather than foreign debts. The national debt is between R34 and R35 billion and the interest rate here is nine and ¾ percent.

Pavlov says he favors money reform—but only if the economy augurs well for it. He is asked if prices can be revised downwards if oblasts get less than what was provided for in the budget. The whole area of purchasing

prices is under consideration. This is tied up with the peasant's independence. Much work must yet be done in this field. At 1811 GMT Pavlov is asked what he thinks about a unified tax system. He favors it irrespective of the form of ownership of the cooperative. There must be a single law on this. How should the Ministry of Finance be supervised by the Supreme Soviet? Through discussion and examination of budgets, Pavlov answers. What is the state's foreign debt? The overall debt by the end of this year will be around R400 billion but Pavlov cannot say what the foreign debt will be. It is noted that the question of inheritance tax has not yet been resolved. Pavlov is asked how just is the proposed tax system for seasonal workers such as fishermen. It will operate in the same way as for writers, for example, taking into account income over a longer period. The issue of credits to farms should be resolved on an individual basis. He is asked why there has been a steep increase in prices for industrial output. Pavlov denies that there has been a steep price increase, although there is a "dynamic" in prices here. This is a contradictory issue because new types of equipment are frequently coming onto the market, which distorts the statistics. When will there be a minimum amount of leave?, Pavlov is asked. Every enterprise and territory should decide this individually. Leave should be related to labor intensity.

Pavlov Elected; Ryabev Queried

LD0307203589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1829 GMT continues its recorded relay of the 3 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1829 GMT a bell rings. The chairman asks if a vote is to be taken. Another deputy, Konoplev takes the floor. He speaks of unprofitable farms and says that "robbery of the countryside is continuing". Urgent aid for social facilities in the countryside is needed. During Stalin's time the countryside was robbed, he says, and during Brezhnev's it continued.

At 1834 GMT Deputy Tikhonov wishes to know if there will be a radical change in the country's financial system or simply cosmetic changes. He says the country will never get rid of inflation if the bank continues to operate according to the old system of fulfilling plans. He turns to price formation. He says radical changes are needed. Prices, he says, have already ceased to be reasonable. A farm's profitability depends on the retail price system. He also speaks about taxes which, he says, are hitting cooperatives and fostering a shadow economy. He believes that the cooperative system, "the child of restructuring" is suffering from the tax laws which are being introduced. "A progressive tax is necessary, it is necessary...but a sensible tax". It should not be simply a fiscal method.

At 1845 GMT Deputy Tatyanov asks why it is necessary to pay so-called voluntary insurance. It represents a new tax and what is it for?

At 1847 GMT Deputy Gubin says that the reforms suggested by Pavlov will have a positive effect upon the economy, but why are levied sums paid to the central funds and not to local soviets which, he says, are in a disastrous state?

At 1850 GMT Deputy Bosenko says that many millions of people in the country live below the poverty line. He proposes that this problem should be resolved at the session. A decision should be adopted on stopping deductions from pensions in order to relieve this category of people from their financial plight.

At 1853 GMT Chairman Lukyanov takes a vote on whether to stop the debate. The vote passes. Election voting takes place. Pavlov is elected with 40 votes against and 14 abstentions. Lukyanov announces the result, which is met with applause. Lukyanov proposes Ryabev as deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the bureau for the fuel and energy complex.

At 1855 GMT Ryabev reads out and answers questions. Should there be reduced fuel and energy prices for the countryside? New prices are to be introduced from the beginning of 1990. Ryabev says the countryside now consumes less than 10 percent of the country's power. What does Ryabev think about the construction of a nuclear electric power station (AES) in the seismic area of Crimea? He says they should not be built in seismic areas where there could be an earthquake of more than seven points. On Chernobyl, Ryabev says that the new RBMK (water cooled graphite moderated) reactor being produced is much safer than its predecessor at Chernobyl. If the new reactor were installed there, he says, the accident would not have happened. What will the 30 km zone around Chernobyl be like in the future? Ryabev says specialists should work on it intensively so that it is assimilated economically. Should AES operations in the Ukraine be stopped in view of the ecological harm already caused there? Ryabev says that radiation damage in the Ukraine is less than in several European countries. Ryabev says the optimum solution would be if there were no need for additional power stations of any type as a result of energy savings.

A Kazakh deputy has a question concerning rumors about the secret burial of radioactive waste, stating that there should be glasnost here. Ryabev "fully agrees" with this. He says there are no restrictions at all on the publication of material concerning the peaceful use of atomic energy. More and more information will be published in this area in the future, including information on accidents.

At 1910 GMT Ryabev speaks about the problems of burying radioactive waste. Research is still going on and it will be some decades before a final answer is found.

A deputy from Chelyabinsk asks about the atomic accident there in 1957. He says there is a high incidence of cancers and other diseases in the area now. "What can I say about these events?" Ryabev says. He speaks about the postwar period when nuclear power was still in its infancy. He says the accident was considerably worse than Chernobyl. He describes how the accident took place and says 2 million curies were released into the atmosphere. Seventeen thousand people were resettled afterwards. Decisions were adopted. Ryabev concedes that he feels a moral responsibility for what took place there. There is a question on the construction of the southern Urals AES: Why was this site chosen? Ryabev says it was to meet an energy shortage; there were specialized personnel in the area. There is a question on what will be done with the personnel released from the atomic power industry after conversion. Ryabev lists measures to be taken, including retraining and relocation. Ryabev calls for a transfer from extensive methods to intensive methods of power generation—this concerns ecology, scientific-technical progress and other things.

At 1925 GMT Deputy Shcherbak takes the floor. He returns to the 1957 nuclear accident in the urals, thanking the writer who made information on this public. He also refers to Chernobyl, saying that it showed how dangerous it is to ignore the will of the people. Atomic power, he says, is a political issue. He talks about the plans for the construction of Rovno AES saying that its site is too close to population centers. The spiritual pain caused by Chernobyl cannot be ignored, he says.

Ryabev Post Confirmed

LD0307204189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1930 GMT on 3 July continues its recorded relay of the 3 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1930 GMT Deputy Naumov from Chelyabinsk Oblast says his oblast is in a serious ecological condition. The consequences of the disaster there remain, he says. There should be a commission-level examination of the measures taken since 1957. He calls for aid to the area in the form of housing construction. The issue of compensation to families who suffered has not be resolved. On behalf of his constituents, he asks Ryabev to pay particular attention to these problems.

At 1936 GMT Deputy Neyelov says that the nominee should not forget to consult deputies from Tyumen Oblast for information on gasification and energy.

At 1940 GMT Deputy Revenko again refers to the elimination of the consequences of Chernobyl tragedy. He says the political conclusions have been made but there are still issues to be taken to heart—those reactors that are believed to be dangerous should be considered for shutdown. He lists other such issues and affirms his support for Ryabev.

At 1944 GMT Deputy Yakov from Astrakham praises Ryabev's program for the country's energy complex, but asks that attention be paid to the working style of the apparatus in the industry. He believes insufficient trust is placed in local organs. He speaks of the Astrakhan gas condensate complex which has cost many millions of rubles but does not function properly and is dangerous to people's health. The future of this complex should be reconsidered.

At 1947 GMT a vote is taken on Ryabev's confirmation. He is approved with four votes against and three abstentions. The announcement is applauded. At 1950 GMT Lukyanov gives the floor to deputy Sukhov. Sukhov makes a plea for the country's disposessed asking the newly elected officials not to forget them in their future activity.

At 1955 GMT Lukyanov talks about the procedure for dealing with letters to the Supreme Soviet. He proposes a machinery for dealing with such letters. There is an exchange on this matter with Sukhov.

At 2000 GMT Lukyanov reads a note suggesting the session wish Gorbachev success on his trip to France. Lukyanov says everything must be done to complete confirmation of government posts this week.

At 2004 GMT the announcer says that the session will continue and he sums up the confirmations which were made during today's session. A total of 14 people were confirmed today, he says. The relay ends at 2005 GMT.

Supreme Soviet 4 Jul Proceedings Outlined

Silayev Answers Deputies' Questions

LD0407155589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1400 GMT on 4 July begins carrying a recorded relay of the proceedings of the 4 July USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin. The relay is introduced by Aleksandr Ruvinskiy. At 1401 GMT, Lukyanov opens the proceedings, stating that they will be a continuation of the discussion of candidates for government posts. The government proposes Ivan Stepanovich Silayev as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Silayev will also work as chairman of the machine-building office of the Council of Ministers.

At 1402 GMT, Silayev takes the rostrum. He discusses the tasks of the machine-building office, and compares the output of Soviet machine-building with that in the United States. He criticizes some outmoded methods in the industry which have slowed up output, stating that

the main task now is to create conditions for highly-effective technology under financial autonomy. He stresses the need to use the nation's potential to the fullest, indicating that a high degree of independence for individual enterprises and closer liason between producer and consumer are also needed he praises the Mercedes motor car and notes it as an example of the sort of area where the government should study issues of integration.

At 1412 GMT, Silayev looks at the volume of industrial production in the United States in this field. Machine-building, particularly agricultural machine-building, must be regarded as a priority industry, he says. He says he is in favor of a state conversion program, and he wonders why the aviation industry is not doing more to help other industries. Discussing investment policy in the machine-building industry, Silayev says that in the 12th 5-Year Plan, R40 billion has been invested in the chemical industry.

At 1420 GMT, Silayev states that in the United States 90 percent of enterprises are manned by 100-500 people while in the USSR 60 percent of enterprises are manned by over 1,000 people. The Soviet Union has serious shortcomings in quality of technology, mainly because of poor organization, he says as far as production potential is concerned, the situation is not too bad, but we must do better. Our main efforts must be to create a complex of measures, mainly economic, to enable the industry to solve its main tasks, Silayev says. He points to the Gospriemka [State Acceptance Service], indicating that it is not solving tasks it is supposed to. The Gospriemka service should only be introduced in extreme circumstances and at the request of consumers, say for 6 months, he says.

At 1426 GMT, Silayev begins to take questions. Deputy Nikolskiy from Leningrad says the USSR does not have enough automatic loaders, and goes on about problems of engines for these vehicles.

Deputy Kim from Tomsk asks why the machine-building industry has failed to keep its congress promise of making 90 percent of its output in keeping with world standards. Silayev says this only related to "the most important" products.

At 1430 GMT, Lukyanov gently reminds Silayev of his time. Deputy Kolesnikov from Rostov-on-Don asks a question about conversion and wonders whether it is advisable to redesignate defense industry enterprises. A Tatneft deputy also asks a question about the oil industry.

At 1433 GMT, Deputy Babchenko wonders whether Silayev is capable of changing the face of the industry. At 1435 GMT, a deputy asks about eliminating shortcomings in the machine-tool industry. Silayev admits that the USSR is lagging behind the United States in this field, but says the Soviet Union intends to reverse this process.

At 1437 GMT, Silayev urges the defense industry to help out in the problem of conversion. He then moves on to a question regarding the production of mini-tractors and mowing machines, citing figures of possible production targets.

Silayev Approved by Deputies

LD0407163989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1440 GMT on 4 July continues its recorded relay of the 4 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1440 GMT, a bell goes off and Lukyanov asks how the hall feels about the question and answer procedure. Indistinct questions are asked from the hall. Silayev gives brief answers about mining equipment and equipment for the viticulture industry.

Speakers then come to the rostrum to give their assessments of Silayev's speech.

At 1443 GMT, Deputy Kasyan from Novorossiysk complains about the dust in the area from a cement factory. He refers to Mostovoy's speech yesterday. He complains about the shortage of viticulture machinery and wonders why we cannot produce more machinery instead of importing from abroad.

At 1447 GMT, Deputy Sazonov from Naberezhnyye Chelny takes the rostrum. He opposes Silayev's candidature because of his attitude to the ministers' role in matters concerning monopolism. He also raises other objections to Silayev's work.

At 1452 GMT, Deputy Frolov calls for support for Silayev's candidacy praising the latter's efforts in the industry.

At 1457 GMT, Deputy Menshatov from Perm Oblast goes back to Ryzhkov's speech in which he exposed shortcomings in agriculture. Silayev did good work in the past, he says, but we are lagging behind in many areas today, he cites examples of defects in vehicles and poor repair work. Machinery is seven times more expensive now, he says, comparing the more efficient machinery in the GDR.

At 1503 GMT, Deputy Kisin from Moscow takes the floor. He stresses the importance of the food program and the need for reliable agricultural machinery. He proposes that the Council of Ministers work out specific programs for supplying equipment to the countryside in relation to the food program and says that cultural and ethnic problems in the country can be related to shortcomings and efficiency in rural areas. Kisin calls for Silayev to be endorsed.

At 1508 GMT Deputy Chabanov from Cherkassy in the Ukraine takes the floor. He praises Silayev's work in the industry and calls for support for him.

At 1512 GMT a woman agrarian insists on coming to the rostrum and stresses the importance of viticulture machinery and the need for radical measures to improve it. She says that there must be greater export of wines as they are very competitive. She supports Silayev.

At 1517 GMT, an unnamed deputy from Azerbaijan says his group unanimously supports Silayev.

At 1519 GMT, Lukyanov calls for the voting on Silayev's candidature. Silayev is elected as deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Lukyanov says the next item is the candidature of Kamentsev. He reminds deputies of what happened in previous debate and says they now must decide the question of his appointment.

Kamentsev's Candidacy Rejected

LD0407170289

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1523 GMT on 4 July continues its recorded relay of the 4 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1523 GMT, Deputy Dzasokhov speaks on behalf of the Committee for International Affairs, and describes the debate within the committee on Kamentsev's candidacy. He says it was agreed that the Foreign Economic Commission had done a great deal of work and urged Kamentsev, if endorsed, to concentrate his attention on strategic issues of foreign-economic and commercial matters.

At 1525 GMT, Dzasokhov continues his speech on Kamentsev's candidature. Praising his energy and competence and citing his personal qualities, he urges support for his candidacy.

At 1528 GMT, an unnamed deputy makes a technical point on the voting: He believes there should only be one vote on this issue. Lukyanov reminds deputies of the regulations and what was agreed upon yesterday [3 July].

At 1531 GMT, another unnamed deputy makes his point about the regulations. He thinks the Kamentsev issue should have been settled yesterday. He continues at some length about the procedural issue. Lukyanov puts to the vote how they should proceed. The deputies decide to continue the debate. An unnamed deputy speaks against Kamentsev's candidacy, saying he is not competent enough to work in such a post.

At 1538 GMT, Deputy Zhuravlev from Minsk takes the floor. He refers to Kamentsev's earlier period in the fishing industry and how much damage was caused to it, particularly in connection with the 'Okean' affair. This was a big foreign-economic "machination," he says. He thinks Kamentsev should be pensioned off.

At 1542 GMT Lukyanov says perhaps they should now vote on the issue. But more people still want to speak.

At 1543 GMT, an unnamed deputy from the 'Okean' association comes to the rostrum, and describes its activities and foreign connections. He calls on deputies to vote for Kamentsev.

At 1545 GMT, the Kamentsev candidature is put to the vote. The announcer says 435 deputies are taking part in the proceedings today.

Lukyanov announces the result: 200 for, 172 against, 47 abstained. Ryzhkov comes to the rostrum to say we must operate according to the law. There is some confusion as how to proceed. Kamentsev's candidature is rejected. Ryzhkov says that despite the result he feels that Kamentsev will still continue to work for many years yet. He rebukes Deputy Sobachak regarding allegations against Kamentsev.

At 1554 GMT, Deputy Dzasokhov comes back to the rostrum to make certain objections to the way the voting was carried out.

At 1556 GMT, Lukyanov announces a 20-minute break in proceedings. The announcer sums up the first session's proceedings.

Systsov Approved as Aviation Minister

LD0407181889

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1559 GMT on 4 July continues its recorded relay of the 4 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

Lukyanov begins by talking about commission and committee work, going on to quote deputy letters received, one in particular suggesting time durations ministers should speak for when candidatures are being considered; up to 15 minutes speaking suggested; voting ensues, the proposals approved. He then proposes Systsov for the position of aviation minister.

At 1604 GMT Systsov talks about aircraft production in the USSR, noting the best models being produced and giving details of projected production plans involving aircraft, equipment for light industry and other sectors. He outlines plans for joint work with Gosagroprom [State Agro-industrial Committee] and outlines the tasks ahead to produce more consumer goods. Above-plan sales of export technology for hard currency will help to increase consumer goods production, he says. Systsov then talks about the fulfilment of social programs, housing construction etc, noting extra feats in this 5-year plan period. He mentions individual feats of enterprises.

Construction plans for this and the next 5-year plan period are outlined briefly. He goes into detail about plans for improving the sector's production processes.

At 1614 GMT Systsov answers a question about the pool of aircraft, dwelling on refinements to the Tu-154 plane and its capabilities, fuel expenditure, comparing it to a similar Boeing plane. He outlines plans for series production of the latter craft, the IL-114 and other named planes.

At 1615 GMT Lukyanov introduces Rostov-on-Don deputy Kolesnikov to initiate the debate on Systsov's speech. He talks about transport problems in the aviation sector in particular and ways to solve them. On Systsov's candidacy, he suggests that he be endorsed for the post.

At 1620 GMT Deputy Korshunov takes the floor deploring backwardness e.g. too much use of manual labor, outdated equipment in the sector, which he says is still technologically-speaking in the 1950's. He is an aviation worker and refers to airports with which he is familiar e.g. Tashkent. He suggests reprofiling works to consumer goods production. He refers to a visit by Ryzhkov to his enterprise which produces the IL-76. He supports Systsov's candidacy.

At 1625 GMT Deputy Voskoboynikov takes the floor contrasting the feats on show at Le Bourget with problems in civil aviation back home. Problems in civil aviation stem from existence of monopolies in the USSR. He suggests decentralizing the civil aviation sector and more competitive work.

At 1627 GMT Deputy Kutepov from Taganrog takes the floor saying that numbers of problems in the sector are horrendous. Computerization is lagging behind in the sector, too many people are from the precomputerization age. He suggests raising the competence of cadres in leading posts. Financial economy requires a great deal of additional working through of the question.

At 1630 GMT Deputy Medvedev takes the floor. He outlines weaknesses in the work of the Ministry of the Aviation Industry to develop the sector. The USSR should not simply copy foreign experience but develop appropriate technologies for its own needs.

At 1634 GMT voting takes place on Systsov's candidacy: Systsov gets his candidature endorsed as aviation minister; four people voted against him, five abstained.

At 1636 GMT Nikolay Pugin, automobile and agriculture machine-building minister takes the floor, the chairman interrupts briefly to read a deputy's letter. Pugin talks about various shortcomings in the agri-machinery producing sector going on to outline what they intend to do to remedy the situation. He outlines the modernization program focusing on production plans for high-power tractors. He outlines plans to acquire equipment at various enterprises as part of the organization of leasing in the sector. He talks at length about plans to combine production at various named enterprises, going into details on individual pieces of machinery e.g. feed combines with which there are problems. He outlines shortcomings in the machine-building sector, making comparisons with the United States and China, suggesting some copying of work in those countries. On automobile machine-building he admits various shortcomings e.g. only 44 percent of consumer demand for cars is being satisfied. He outlines plans to increase production.

At 1650 GMT Deputy Ivchenko takes the floor, making his own suggestions about how to improve work in the automobile and agro-machine-building sector. He suggests that various tractor-combine works should work independently in the future.

At 1654 GMT Deputy Kalashnikov take the floor: He starts by noting the debts accumulated already by workers who have launched into leasing work; he focuses on the K-700 tractor and its high price for people involved in leasing. He criticizes the sloppy use of technology—machinery is still rusting in the fields.

Pugin, Konovalov Voted Ministers

LD0407182989

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1659 GMT on 4 July continues its recorded relay of the 4 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1659 GMT Deputy Viktor Ivanovich Gross takes the floor. He praises Pugin's work and qualities as a leader and asks deputies to endorse his candidature as automobile and machine-building minister.

At 1704 GMT Deputy Mamedov takes the floor and supports Pugin's candidature, focusing for a short while on machinery production problems.

At 1705 GMT Deputy Golovnev takes the floor praising the qualities of one particular tractor—ideal for the peasant farmer—but deploring shortages of attachments for it. We need microequipment today, he says, small parts. He deplores the high price of tractors today.

At 1708 GMT the chairman asks for a vote on whether to end discussion at this point. Voting on Pugin's candidature goes ahead. Most votes are for Pugin; two are against; seven abstained. Pugin is therefore endorsed as USSR automobile and agricultural machine-building minister.

At 1709 GMT the chairman gives the floor to Vitaliy Fedorovich Konovalov, the proposed candidate for the post of USSR Atomic Industry minister. Konovalov talks about the industry's tasks, about work for the defense sector, stressing the importance of quality equipment. He goes on to talk about atomic power stations, responsibilities in this field, and other subsections of work which he as

minister will overview. Other tasks listed include the need to develop such areas as laser technology, thermonuclear technology. He gives percentages for expenditure plans. He answers a deputy's question concerning construction work and talks about the development of the program for construction material production. He also mentions sales of consumer goods. Answering another question, he touches on uranium production and machine-tool and other equipment production.

At 1720 GMT Academician Velikhov of the USSR Academy of Sciences takes the floor: After talking about the importance of the ministry, he says that the future nuclear power capacity needs to be enlarged.

AT 1723 GMT Deputy V.D. Romanenko talks about problems associated with nuclear power stations [AES] e.g. sites for four in the Ukraine have been recently found to be unsuitable; problems involving the Chigirin AES described, plus others. He recalls what was said by Ryabov yesterday in comparing USSR AES's with those in France. He outlines the radiation situation in the Ukraine and Belorussia. He dwells on the Chernobyl AES, the accident 3 years ago and says sooner or later the Chernobyl AES must be shut down.

AT 1728 GMT Deputy Pribyulova takes the floor, continuing the subject of safety at AES sites, deploring shortages in most up-to-date equipment in the medical-hygiene sections. She stresses the need for good health care services for AES workers. It is stupid to build AES's on rich Chernozem zones, densely-populated lands given over to agriculture, she says. She gives a number of other suggestions about workers at AES sites.

At 1732 GMT Deputy Bogdanov takes the floor. He dwells on problems at a heat and power plant in Gorkiy Oblast to begin with, criticizing the quality of construction of AES's 10-12 years ago; 100 percent guarantees of workmanship should be given.

At 1736 the chairman asks for vote on whether they should continue the discussion. An unidentified speaker comments on what has been said by others so far including Velikhov, talking about medium machine-building.

At 1738 GMT the chairman proposes endorsing Konovalov as minister: voting goes ahead: three are against; three abstain.

At 1740 GMT there is a vote on whether to return to the subject of the precise name of the ministry; a minority say yes; most are against. The chairman declares Konovalov minister. A break is announced.

The presenter gives a round-up on Supreme Soviet voting today and the appointments made.

Katushev Elected Minister

LD0407190589

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1742 GMT on 4 July continues its recorded relay of the 4 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin. Aleksandr Ruvinskiy gives a brief introduction to the relay.

At 1743 GMT Katushev takes the floor to talk about the country's foreign economic activity. He stresses the need for step-by-step reform, correcting mistakes as one goes along. He recalls the CEMA meeting of May 1969 which outlined future developments in foreign economic work, going right up to 1976, and then to the 80's, in describing such work and times when it was hindered. He outlines reform developments since 1986 noting the independence of kollektivs today to engage in import-export work. He notes government decisions on foreign economic activity and stresses the need for a state regulating system for foreign economic operations. He outlines plans by the Foreign Economic Relations Ministry for future developments.

At 1756 GMT Deputy Ismailov has a question about plans to cooperate with the Supreme Soviet Committee for Economic Reform; on plans for the sovereignty of chambers to develop foreign economic ties. Other deputies' questions are then read out and answered by Katushev. Deputy Isayev from Azerbaijan says there are many regions in the country which are not part of foreign economic relations despite their obvious potential. He draws attention to potential ties between autonomous republics and foreign countries. As far as Katushev's candidature is concerned, there is no doubt that he is suitable and I'll vote for him, he says.

At 1803 GMT Deputy Saunin from Donetsk Oblast takes the floor and expresses concern about, in particular, the sale of Lada cars abroad. He doubts whether Katushev will fill the post. Deputy Kim ye Un from Omsk then pays tribute to what Katushev has done in the sphere of foreign economic relations and calls for his candidature to be endorsed.

At 1810 GMT Lukyanov puts Katushev's candidature to the vote. Katushev is elected by a majority vote with 33 against and 32 abstentions as minister for foreign economic relations.

At 1812 GMT the Council of Ministers proposes Gabrielyants as minister of geology. Gabrielyants takes the floor and talks about the ministry's tasks. There are problems in many fields. The first task is to alter the strategy of prospecting for minerals; second, the cost of this work is a matter of concern. The introduction of the latest scientific achievements, as well as means of automation, is of prime importance. The third problem is that of introducing financial autonomy into the industry. He goes on to talk about various aspects of the work of geologists and goes on at length about the importance of

gas in everyday life. He winds up by replying to a few questions from deputies on the development of geophysical work, and geologists' attitudes to ecological problems. A program has been drawn up for the protection of mineral fields, he says.

At 1819 GMT Deputy Yudin from Magadan Oblast takes the floor and draws deputies' attention to the fact that Canada and the United States are showing more positive attitudes to geological prospecting and protection than the USSR.

Gabrielyants Voted Geology Minister

LD0407193389

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1828 GMT on 4 July continues its recorded relay of the 4 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1828 GMT A deputy from Nenets Okrug, Vyucheyskiy, describes the qualities required of a minister of geology; he doesn't think the Gabrielyants fits the bill.

At 1832 GMT a deputy from Yamal-Nenets Okrug Rugin describes the problems of his region and calls for joint responsibility of ministries in tackling them. He believes geologists have worked irresponsibly in exploiting the region. Deputy Osipov doesn't think it is fair to put the blame on Gabrielyants for the shortcomings in industry and calls for support for him.

At 1838 GMT Deputy Kurtashin believes that Gabrielyants gave a fair picture of the problems of the industry, but not enough attention was given to certain aspects of mineral prospecting, such as nuclear explosions for the benefit of the economy and the protection of the earth's riches.

At 1840 GMT Lukyanov puts Gabrielyants' candidature to the vote. He is appointed USSR minister of geology with only 6 votes against and 5 abstentions.

At 1842 GMT Lukyanov then announces that the government has proposed Volkov as USSR minister of civil aviation.

Volkov takes the floor. He reports that over 70 inquiries and letters have been received from deputies about civil aviation matters. In 1988 for the first time 125 million passengers travelled. Problems with fuel continue to hamper the industry, however. Also there have been problems with automization. We have worked out program decisions in priority areas, such as safety of passengers, he says. More highly-effective aircraft in terms of fuel consumption are being used, 75,000 tonnes of aircraft fuel were saved last year, but there are still many problems to be solved. A lot of freight which is not top priority must be transferred to the railways and road transport. We must make more rational use of fuel, particularly for passenger services, he concludes.

Volkov goes on to say that our aircraft are lagging behind their foreign counterparts in fuel efficiency. There is a shortage of aircraft engines. We need to develop the material-technical base of our airports. The Far East, Siberia, and the far north have been earmarked for development in the civil aviation program. Introducing competitive airline companies to rival Aeroflot is also envisaged. This will help to solve the problem of monopolization in civil aviation. Turning to international activities, Aeroflot is linked to 97 countries. We plan to use more international technology, especially on the IL-62 aircraft. As is known our aircraft are inferior to many foreign models, he says; we must compete with foreign airlines but it is very difficult for us.

At 1859 GMT Deputy Deyatelyin from Chukotka talks about the needs of northern people for air communication and is worried about the present monopoly situation which exists with Aeroflot. He criticizes the obsession with gigantomania in building huge aircraft and other matters. He still supports Volkov.

At 1903 GMT Deputy Anumakhumedov from Turkmenistan says there is a delay in producing new-type aircraft. New methods of management have been introduced, thanks to Volkov. Civil aviation should give more attention to agrarian matters. He draws attention to shortcomings in various areas of the industry, but he still calls for support for Volkov.

At 1910 GMT Deputy Voskoboynikov speaks next praising improvements in the 2 years Volkov has been in office. There have been fewer disasters. Aeroflot's inner reserves have been made better use of. He praises developments in outlying areas. There should be better contacts with the industries related to the ministry.

Volkov Elected Civil Aviation Minister

LD0407203189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1914 GMT on 4 July continues its recorded relay of the 4 July proceedings at the USSR Supreme Soviet session in the Kremlin.

At 1914 GMT Deputy Yeltsin says there were high hopes when Volkov was appointed, but, unfortunately, these have not been realized. Practically nothing has been done regarding cadre work or the repair base or with the use of smaller aircraft in outlying regions. He criticizes other factors of the work of the ministry, but says he will vote for Volkov.

At 1916 GMT Lukyanov calls for a vote on Volkov's candidature. He announces that Volkov is appointed USSR minister of civil aviation by a majority vote, with 4 against and 14 abstentions.

At 1918 GMT Lukyanov announces that Valeriy Bykov has been proposed for the office of USSR minister of the medical industry.

At 1920 GMT Bykov takes the floor. He describes the tasks facing the medical industry. He complains that existing potential is not being fully used in the industry and gives details of ways in which production can be boosted. He spends about 5 minutes dealing with some of the 22 written questions he has before him. At 1935 GMT Lukyanov says three more people want to speak; who insists on speaking?

Deputy Pribylova speaks, complaining of shortage of medicines and medical preparations and equipment, saying her committee will only vote for him if he can promise to make good these shortcomings.

Deputy Kutsenko from Poltava draws attention to problem regarding a works producing chemical preparations in Kremenchug. He complains that no proper reply has been given to this matter.

At 1947 GMT Ryzhkov intervenes, saying he dosen't want to put pressure on anyone, but simply says he clearly laid out the government's position on this issue in his speech on Tuesday and there will be no more new factories built for its production. Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, speaks from the back of the hall but his words are inaudible.

At 1952 GMT Lukyanov puts Bykov's candidature to the vote. With 22 against and 25 abstentions, Bykov is appointed USSR minister of medical industry.

Lukyanov then asks the Committee for Youth Affairs to remain in the hall; the Committee for Women and Young Children's Affairs is to convene at another venue. Tomorrow's proceedings will commence at 1000 [0600 GMT].

Aleksandr Ruvinskiy recaps on the candidatures which have ben endorsed today during the proceedings, and the relay ends at 1956 GMT.

Supreme Soviet Commissions on Candidates 23 Jun
LD2306191289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Correspondent Olga Vaselenko report]

[Excerpts] After the session of the Supreme Soviet Presidium today [23 Jun] the commissions debated the candidate for the post of USSR Finance Minister. This is Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov, who is an economist by speciality because the deputies are placing special emphasis on this person being a specialist. He has spent his whole life working in this sphere, although it is true that he was not first deputy finance minister for very long, and recently he has been the head of the State Prices Committee. [passage omitted]

Next Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov introduced Mikhail Sergeyevich Shkabardnya, candidate for the office of the administrator of affairs of the USSR Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

The candidacy of Vladimir Aleksandrovich Durasov for the post of first deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee, which is of ministerial rank in the country, was also discussed. He was recommended to the Supreme Soviet for confirmation, as was Aleksandr Sergeyevich Isayev for the office of chairman of the State Committee of Forestry, and Nikolay Isaakovich Kotlyar for the office of the country's minister of fishing industry. The discussion of the candidacy for members of the government will continue in the committees and commissions tomorrow.

[Announcer] Thank you for your report. It remains for me to add that sessions of the country's Supreme Soviet will take place on 26 June in the Kremlin; the session of the Soviet of Nationalities will open at 1000 and the session of the Soviet of the Union will open at 1600.

Biryukova Recommended 'After Long Debate'
PM2306104589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Unnamed IZVESTIYA special correspondent report: "Exactingness of the Election. Deputies Discuss Composition of Government"]

[Text] A joint sitting of the USSR Supreme Soviet committees and chamber commissions was held 20 June in the Kremlin, chaired by R. Nishanov. According to the program, candidacies for the posts of first deputy and deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers were to be discussed. A. Biryukova was recommended for the post of deputy chairman after a long debate. Discussion of the contender for the post of first deputy chairman and chairman of the Commission for Food and Procurements was postponed: V. Kalashnikov's candidacy was rejected by members of the Committee for Agrarian Questions and Food.

In the Committee for Construction and Architecture Questions, with B.N. Yeltsin presiding, deputies determined their standing orders and then examined the candidacies proposed by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for various government posts.

V.A. Brezhnev was nominated for the post of USSR minister of transport construction. He reported to the committee on the state of affairs in the sector and defined the most important problems in transport construction. Then the candidate answered committee members' questions for approximately 1 hour. Deputies spoke critically of the quality of the highways and pointed out that transport construction is being carried out to the detriment of the environment. Questions concerning the use of antinoise barriers on highways, the development of highway services, and the construction of motels, overpasses, and bypasses were raised.

During the discussion the deputies assessed V.A. Brezhnev's professional qualities positively. It was noted that the Ministry of Transport Construction is one of the few

ministries which steadily fulfill state targets. The committee decided—by a majority, with one vote against—to recommend that the USSR Supreme Soviet confirm V.A. Brezhnev as USSR minister of transport construction.

Deputies also examined the following candidacies: A.I. Mikhalchenko for the post of minister of installation and special construction work; V.G. Chirskov for the post of minister of construction of petroleum and gas industry enterprises; V.M. Serov for the post of chairman of the USSR State Committee for Construction; and Yu.K. Semenov for the post of USSR minister of power and electrification. Deputies decided to recommend that the USSR Supreme Soviet confirm them.

Candidacies for ministerial posts were also submitted to other USSR Supreme Soviet committees and chamber commissions.

Finance Minister-Designate Interviewed 23 Jun

LD2406031789 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Discussion of the candidates for the country's government continued today in the commissions and committees of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Correspondent P. Orlov, identified by caption] In the 4 days that the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet have been working we thought we had already seen all possible situations, but it turns out that we had not. Today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov presented Finance Minister Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov. [Video shows Ryzhkov, then Pavlov at the rostrum.]

After his program speech and replies to the deputies' questions and the voting, applause broke out in the hall. It was so unexpected that we barely had time to switch on our camera. The deputies also supported the candidature of Mikhail Sergeyevich Shkabardnya for the post of USSR Council of Ministers administrator of affairs.

[Pavlov] Of course, I do not expect that there might be some sort of decisions which will definitely suit everyone. But in my opinion the main thing in any decision by the Finance Ministry or in any, I would say, correct decision in the field of finance which is adopted in the form of laws, decisions, or some other actions, is for it to be aimed at the benefit of and be in the interests of the majority of the population, I would say, and the majority of the working people and the majority of our people whom we have the duty to protect socially. We have approximately 4.5 million people who have less than R50 per capita, and we know that today our subsistence wage is R75. Can we wait until we build this up? I think this is a problem which generally speaking should be treated as an urgent problem. But all we have to do is honestly and openly explain that we are going out to people with various actions in the interests of the majority, I think that people's support for the actions of the Finance Ministry will be guaranteed. [passage omitted]

Discharged Geology Minister Interviewed

18200399 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Jun 89 p 1

[Interview with Ye.A. Kozlovskiy, USSR minister of geology, by V. Golobachev: "The Discharge of a Minister: How this Complicated and Delicate Process is Accomplished"; date and place of interview not given; first six paragraphs are an introduction]

[Text] **The management of the national economic complex is optimized in various ways. It is intended to abolish certain management agencies, certain ministries are to be combined, and in a number of cases the ministries and departments are to be left standing but new people are to be appointed as their leaders. A fairly large number of ministers and leaders of state committees (if the USSR Supreme Soviet agrees to the suggestions) will not be included in the new government.**

A couple of days ago in TRUD Ye.A. Varnachev, USSR minister of construction, road, and municipal machine building, shared his thoughts about problems arising in connection with the abolition of the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building. Today we are discussing a similar subject with another minister—Ye.A. Kozlovskiy. Here the situation is somewhat different—the Ministry of Geology is not being abolished; it will remain but Kozlovskiy will be replaced by a new leader of the branch staff.

Strong and energetic, without a single gray hair, he looks much younger than his 60 years. A scientist, a practical worker, an organizer. His name is well known to geologists both in our country and abroad. For the discovery of the tin deposits in the Far East he was awarded the Lenin Prize (he worked on the expedition itself). He is a doctor of technical sciences, a professor, and the author of more than 300 articles and about 15 books.

Ye.A. Kozlovskiy began working in the ministry apparatus 24 years ago. He was chief of the technical administration of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Ministry of Geology. Then he worked for 2 years as the director of a scientific research institute. And then again to the Ministry of Geology, but this time the all-union one. And a higher position—deputy minister. And in 1975 he was installed as USSR minister of geology. He has been on the government staff for 14 years....

What successes has the branch achieved under his leadership? This can best be judged from these facts. In the 3 years of the current 5-year plan prospecting has been completed and supplies have been established at 366 deposits.

They have turned 191 objects over for industrial assimilation, including 109 petroleum and gas deposits with total supplies of billions of tonnes of condensate and trillions of cubic meters of gas. And there are also other underground storehouses of metals, diamonds, raw material for mineral fertilizers, and so forth.

[Golovachev] Yevgeniy Aleksandrovich, do you mean to say that there are no shortcomings or problems in the branch?

[Kozlovskiy] Of course there are. Workers of the ministry know this better than anyone else. And we do not try to hide this.

Just look. There are operational mining enterprises in regions where minerals have been extracted for many decades or even centuries, but these enterprises are still not adequately provided with known reserves. I have in mind the lead and zinc combines, the tin and copper mines, and others. Further. Our country could end up in a difficult situation with respect to certain minerals in the future. On the whole our mineral base is not quite as good as those of a number of foreign countries in terms of the quality of the known reserves.

[Golovachev] Today there are a lot of discussions about whether or not ministries are needed. They say that their dictatorship restricts the activity of the enterprises. Your opinion?

[Kozlovskiy] I shall speak only of my own branch. Here I am convinced that it is impossible to do without a central staff. Specific features must be taken into account. We have a multitude of geological expeditions and their activity must be coordinated, their interrelations with client enterprises and their ministries must be organized, a unified state policy must be implemented in this area, strategies must be worked out for the development of geological prospecting, and so forth.

Actually, even our ministry is more a scientific production coordination apparatus than a traditional department. Tell what other ministry has 40 candidates and 12 doctors of sciences working in it, that is practically every tenth person has a scholarly degree. The majority of the specialists have behind them no less than 10 years of practical experience on expeditions, under field conditions....

[Golovachev] Are you sorry to leave this collective?

[Kozlovskiy] Well, what can I say—sorry or not.... The government needs new blood—this is an objective process. And after all I have been in the government for 14 years now—I have become one of the oldest (in service) ministers.... One can see more clearly from the outside where personnel are best placed. And I have never clung to the minister's chair.

[Golovachev] When did you learn that another candidate would be recommended for the position you hold?

[Kozlovskiy] At the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. B.Ye. Shcherbina, chairman of the bureau of the USSR Council of Ministers for the fuel and energy complex, called me in to his office and said that this suggestion had been made. I simply asked: "Have there been any complaints about my work?" "No," he answered, "that issue was not considered." Do you get a feeling of the logic of the conversation?...

[Golovachev] The plan for the composition of the new government does not include B.Ye. Shcherbina (current deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers) either....

[Kozlovskiy] The Council of Ministers is being updated. This is normal. In my opinion, something else is more important here—finding work for everyone in keeping with his experience, knowledge, expertise, and capabilities. Even if it is not in the government, just so long as the person is put to maximum use.

[Golovachev] Do you know your possible successor personally?

[Kozlovskiy] Of course. He is an outstanding specialist, a good organizer, and a decent person—Grigoriy Arkadyevich Gabrizlyants. He is the director of our ministry's All-Union Scientific Research Geological Prospecting Petroleum Institute. I have known him for a long time and we have had long conversations.... I support his candidacy.

[Golovachev] I have had occasion to hear the opinion of certain people's deputies that it would be advantageous for the USSR Supreme Soviet to hear reports from ministers and deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers after they have completed their term in office (both those who have been discharged and those who have remained in the new government) and to learn of their suggestions for developing the branch. Perhaps they could even consider several candidates for a position in the government and compare their programs.... Both new people and members of the government whose term in office has expired could participate in these competitions.

[Kozlovskiy] I largely agree with them. Mistakes in making appointments to the position of minister cost the country a great deal. Therefore an especially attentive, carefully-thought-out, and measured approach is required here. I think that candidates nominated primarily by councils of the branches could also be allowed to participate in the competition. In my view, we could only stand to benefit from all this. A report from a minister and an in-depth analysis of his activity, his strong and weak sides, and his achievements and mistakes—all this would create good conditions for further comparison of alternative programs of people applying for the chair of minister and would make it possible to avoid many mistakes. But in addition I think it is necessary to arrange a system for providing members of

the USSR Supreme Soviet with objective information about the work of the branches. I think this would increase the competence of the deputies in solving important problems.

[Golovachev] Are you in favor of frequent rotation of management personnel or do you think stability is more useful here?

[Kozlovskiy] Well here if I mention, for example, the advantages of stability I shall immediately be placed in the category of the conservatives. But judge for yourself: Is it really efficient to replace the minister every 3-4 years? For it takes a new leader a minimum of 2 years to completely assimilate and master the situation. Thus with a rapid rotation the branch will always be in upheaval. Thank God this does not affect geology and therefore I can say this directly without being afraid of being suspected of personal motives. So in order for there to be no mistakes when appointing members of the government and for their replacement not to be unjustifiably quick, it is necessary to have several candidates who are well known in the branch.

[Golovachev] Would you participate in this kind of competition?

[Kozlovskiy] I do not know. At least I would not nominate myself.

[Golovachev] Minister Ye.A. Varnachev, the leader of the abolished Ministry of Road, Construction, and Municipal Machine Building, expressed doubts in his recent interview (TRUD, 21 June) about the fact that the work for reorganizing had taken place behind closed doors, and there was not even any interest in the opinions of the branch leaders....

[Kozlovskiy] It seems to me also that from the standpoint of ethics not everything was well thought out here. After all, it would have been possible to speak with the leaders of the ministries and departments ahead of time and hear alternative proposals—suddenly something would work. And it would not be a bad idea to determine people's future destiny either—who is to go on a pension, and who can still be of some use....

[Golovachev] Do you personally have any plans?

[Kozlovskiy] Yes, I am not speaking about myself.... As you can understand, it is easier for me than it is for others—all these years I have not gotten away from science and I have accumulated a considerable reserve. It will take a couple of years just to bring my developments to the point of completion. And, incidentally, many offers are coming in—I am being invited to be the director of an institute, the head of a department.... In a word, I shall not be left without a job. But, for instance, where is Ye.A. Varnachev supposed to go? Uralmash really took off under him, but now there are no director vacancies either at this or at many other large plants.... I have no doubt that such people—experienced, intelligent, energetic—will, of course, find appropriate work. But it would be better to think about and suggest everything in advance and not keep a person in suspense.

[Golovachev] How are you situated in you personal life? Do you have a car, a dacha?

[Kozlovskiy] Let us not talk about that. Or else people will think that I am complaining, that I am placing blame for the fact that a minister is left out in the cold! But I am satisfied with life: I am working in geology, my favorite work, and I think that I have made a certain contribution....

[Golovachev] But what about the car....

[Kozlovskiy] No, I have never had a car or a dacha. I use the state car and the state dacha in keeping with my position. Although, to be frank, my work day lasts from 8 in the morning until 8 in the evening. Why do I need a dacha?—I do not even have time to watch "Vremya".... But now I will have to start dealing with my personal life, as it were, from scratch. In general it would probably be a good idea to organize in the Council of Ministers a cooperative for those who are retired. It sounds like a joke but why is it that there are cooperatives at the plants but we do not have them?

[Golovachev] ...I did not answer that question from the minister because it seemed to me that it was rhetorical. Personal problems do not really bother a discharged minister very much. Today—and one could sense this clearly from the conversation—his main concern is for his work and further development of the branch. He will be eagerly keeping track of this regardless of where he may be working....

Slyunkov Discusses Merger of Ministries

LD2406035589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrade Slyunkov today met with the collective of the State Institute for Planning of Metallurgical Works [GIPROMEZ].

[Correspondent Bobin] [video shows Slyunkov being shown exhibits in exhibition area, then addressing meeting from platform] The history of this inistitute is the history of the industrialization of our country. Starting with the Magnitka Works—just look at this map—many leading works and combines were created here. Today, the reconstruction of ferrous metallurgy enterprises—namely 40 percent of the industry—and the transition to new technology is linked with GIPROMEZ. The CPSU Central Committee secretary took a special interest in aspects of planning projects such as waste-free technology and the ecological purity of production and social matters.

Then a meeting took place in the conference hall: This was conducted without a rostrum, in an atmosphere of lively exchange.

[Begin Slyunkov recording] [video shows Slyunkov reading from paper] Tell us, please, what will happen to our ministry. What changes will take place in terms of personnel, the number of functions, and work.

Your ministry, just like other ministries, is undergoing structural changes and mergers. Many ministries have developed in our country: such a plethora of departments and ministries has grown up that it has become a contradiction, a hindrance to work. The main thing, however, is that the functions of the ministries are changing. Operational management of production and command of factories are being removed from their purview, as are economic management and administration. They are moving to their main function, namely implementing scientific and technical policy, and creating the conditions and environment for utilizing the new economic levers and creating economic conditions for the work of enterprises. At this moment, your ministry is merging with the Ministry of non-ferrous metallurgy. [end recording]

[Bobin] Replying to a question on the division of power between the state and party, Comrade Slyunkov said:

[Begin Slyunkov recording] The party, the Central Committee and the Politburo, is not an organ of state power, it is not an organ of economic management or power, it is a socio-political organ. The Supreme Soviet, the Congress, is a state organ of power. And here the party has precisely and clearly talked about the division of these functions, about the separation of these functions. The party has already freed itself of, divested itself of, the functions of state power, the functions of state organs, of economic power. The party apparatus had eight branch departments, which intervened and carried out supervision. All these departments have not been reorganized, but disbanded, dismantled, and their staff cut. And the senior workers in the central apparatus... out of eight branch departments I have been left with only seven people in the economic department.

The question of power, therefore, has been handed over to the Supreme Soviet in the preamble to the congress decision adopted at the congress. But I reiterate, comrades, make no hasty conclusions: Think about what is happening. Today we have only stepped across the threshold. We have, on the basis of the choice of people's deputies, on a democratic basis, formed only the supreme organ and have defined the functions of the Supreme Soviet and the functions of the commissions... and have created commissions. Next, this entire structure must be pushed further. [applause] [end recording]

Primakov Explains Government Formation Process

PM3006110589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, by own correspondent A. Lyutyy, under the rubric "Our Interview": "We Are Using World Experience"—date and place unspecified, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] In the recess between sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet a PRAVDA correspondent asked Ye.M. Primakov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, to answer a number of questions.

[Lyutyy] How has the discussion of the candidates for the new Soviet Government been proceeding, in your opinion?

[Primakov] Normally. It has been a businesslike discussion. The main emphasis has been placed on the work of the committees and commissions, since they were more qualified to discuss the candidates in greater detail. Moreover, these commissions and committees include professionals.

The discussions were continued at the Supreme Soviet sittings. Here, as you can see, general questions about the government are being asked. Later there will be a more specific discussion of the candidates.

In his speech Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov said that he agreed with the conclusions of the committees and commissions on the overwhelming majority of questions. This shows just how seriously the government takes the opinions of these organs. That was not the case in the past. Before, as you are aware, people simply raised their hands and voted. Now an entirely new situation is being created in which the government will work under the control of the Supreme Soviet. The time when it was not controlled is over.

[Lyutyy] I have met with deputies who complain that the members and leaders of the committees and commissions were selected and put in position from above by the apparatus.

[Primakov] In no way does that square with reality. Any way of organizing things can be presented as apparatus-style work. But in this case everything happened as follows. First, questionnaires were disseminated. The deputies filled them in, stating who wanted to work on which committee or commission. This was the basis for the initial indication of membership. Preliminary lists of committee and commission members were distributed. But, after consultation with deputies, we then decided that we should not ratify the members of committees and commissions on the basis of the first indications, but elect their chairmen and allow them to get down to the

job of altering or amending the committee and commission members. After all, there are limitations which make this quite a complex job.

The first limitation is that two-thirds of deputies are not members of committees or commissions. Why? Because only a maximum of 450 members of the Supreme Soviet can take part in them. The same number again—a maximum of 450 people—can take part from among those people's deputies who are not members of the Supreme Soviet. In all we have 2,250 people's deputies. Those two-thirds who did not get on the commissions and committees quite possibly think they have been bypassed. But we have a rotation system and their chance will come in the future. The two Supreme Soviet chambers must be equally represented on Supreme Soviet committees.

All this is not the result of apparatus work. When it comes to this the apparatus can only calculate a few things or type things out. The committees and commissions were initially drawn up on the basis of lists compiled from deputies' own wishes, and later in accordance with the work done by committee and commission chairmen.

Of course, we must take the factor of regional and republic representation into account, particularly on those commissions dealing with language, culture, and questions of local soviets and self-management. But we cannot do this everywhere. After all, we would then have no professionals. Purely in order to be represented certain republics nominate people who work passively. Of course, certain proportions must be taken into consideration, but we should not make a fetish of it.

[Lyutyy] I have read in the Western press that in forming our parliament we have been borrowing a few things from the U.S. Congress. This refers, in particular, to the commissions and their structure....

[Primakov] Why? We are not borrowing this from the U.S. Congress. This practice has been developed by world experience. In the previous Supreme Soviet we also had commissions, but they simply worked badly.

Lukyanov Previews Supreme Soviet Session 23 Jun
LD2406025989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov met the collective of Moscow's Spektr scientific and production association today.

[Correspondent V. Stepanyuk] The most modern instruments for the technical diagnosis of manufactured articles and materials in machinebuilding, metallurgy, oil and gas pipelines, and construction and other industries are developed and produced here. The scientists and designers showed Anatoliy Ivanovich an extensive exhibition of more than 120 systems and instruments currently being manufactured by the association. [passage omitted]

During the conversation in the conference hall, the workers questioned Comrade Lukyanov on how democratization of life in our society will proceed and, in particular, which matters will be examined at the Supreme Soviet session next week.

[Begin Lukyanov recording] On 26 June the Supreme Soviet session will continue in separate sittings. The composition of the commissions will be confirmed and the chairmen will be elected; the agenda will also be confirmed. Then there will be the long process—lasting perhaps several days—of confirming the government appointments, the deputy chairmen of the Council of Ministers, and the USSR ministers; of electing the People's Control Committee; of electing the Supreme Court; of determining the Collegium of the State Arbitration and of the Procuracy. Generally, all of the all-union central bodies and state bodies will finally be formed.

The second stage—and we discussed this today at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session—will consist of confirming a plan, a decision on the organization of the work to carry out the decisions of the congress. There are very many instructions; these must be farmed out to the commissions and all the junctions must be determined so that these decisions can be carried through.

Finally, the Supreme Soviet will examine the 21 bills that our legislators already have in their briefcases. That is a lot of bills; therefore, clearly those that have been worked on and discussed by the public will go first. At this session, a number of bills will only have their first reading; they will be passed at the next session, after they have been worked on in the commissions. [Video shows Lukyanov looking around exhibits and addressing meeting from a rostrum.] [end recording]

Lukyanov Praises Work of Congress 23 Jun
LD2306231289 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Moscow June 23 TASS—The Congress of USSR People's Deputies became yet another tangible proof of the irreversibility of perestroika and renewal in the political, economic, social and spiritual life of society, People's deputy of the USSR Anatoly Lukyanov, alternate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first vice-president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, emphasised when addressing the personnel of the Spektr scientific and production amalgamation on Friday.

He pointed out the humaneness of the Congress-advanced programme as a major essential aspect of the Congress. The programme envisages further enhancement of the reorientation of the economy towards people's needs, towards utterly specific groups of population and, first of all, low-income sections, pensioners, invalids, women and children.

The Congress roused a vigorous social response, Lukyanov pointed out. Giving the following fact as an example: more than 141,000 letters and telegrams come in to the Congress and more than 2,840 deputies' messages came in to the Presidium of the Congress.

The Congress clearly manifested adherence to our socialist choice, Lukyanov went on to say. At the same time it showed that there is a lack of a common point of view as regards many urgent problems in the economy and politics.

The speaker called for regarding the diversity of ideas and opinions as a factor in the search for the best, most effective ways to resolve pressing problems, and not as attempts at shaking unity.

Shcherbitskiy at Kiev Party Komsomol Meeting

LD2306203189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] A meeting took place between leaders of the Communist Party and leaders of the Ukraine with the republic's Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] aktiv. Comrade Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo and first secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, took part.

Discusses Congress at Meeting

LD2306220889 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] On 23 June there was a meeting in Kiev between the leaders of the Communist Party and government of the Ukraine and the republic's Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] aktive, and representatives of the young people of Kiev and the oblast. The meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Ukraine Komsomol.

Speaking at the meeting, Shcherbitskiy, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Ukraine Communist Party, cordially congratulated those present on this occasion. Currently, he said, we are all under the influence of the first Congress of USSR people's deputies. After remarking on its openness and glasnost, the speaker stressed that time is needed to comprehensively interpret the significance of the congress. Already it is clear that its influence will be profound and lasting, not least for the destinies of young people.

Comrade Shcherbitskiy dwelt on those problems with which the Komsomol is faced.

V. Medvedev Denies Gorbachev Ouster Attempted

18001280 Moscow AGRUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 25, 24-30 Jun 89 pp 1, 8

[Report on interview with V.A. Medvedev, USSR people's deputy, Politburo member, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, by unidentified journalist 16 June at the Kibernetika Scientific Production Association: "The Hard School of Democracy"]

[Text] *As was already reported in the press, on 16 June 1989 in the Kibernetika Scientific Production Association there was a meeting with V.A. Medvedev, USSR people's deputy, Politburo member, and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Published below are his answers to certain questions raised during the course of the meeting.*

[Question] There is the opinion that the USSR Congress of People's Deputies did not resolve the major issue—all power to the soviets. Do you agree with this?

[Medvedev] I do not agree with that assessment. I think that a large step has been taken in the practical realization of this slogan, at least at the highest level of state authority. The very fact that the congress was held, the course and forms of expression of its work, and the decisions made at it—all this is in line with the radical reform of the political system of Soviet society that was approved by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The congress confirmed the course toward deepening restructuring and comprehensive qualitative renewal of our society. And it confirmed this course with the force of the authority of the highest organ of state power, which expressed the will of the Soviet people as they manifested it during the course of the electoral campaign.

The congress assumed all the completeness of state authority and formed organs of this authority, and it laid the basis for their practical activity. The discussion of all the issues raised at the congress took place with an awareness of its sovereignty—that is, with an awareness of the fact that it determines its own affairs and deals with them itself. I am convinced that the process of establishing the real power of the soviets will gather force, on the one hand, as the new state organs begin to perform their constitutional duties; and on the other hand, as there is a deepening of the second stage of the political reform, during the course of which the sovereignty of the republic and local soviets will be established.

[Question] Explain, please, the reason why you were against a direct broadcast of the proceedings of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies?

[Medvedev] Apparently the question itself arose because of the version that was spread around that the direct broadcasting of all the meetings of the congress was the

result of pressure on the country's political leadership from a group of deputies. I can state with full responsibility that from the very beginning we were in favor of fully broadcasting all of the work of the congress and publishing all of the stenographic reports of its meetings in IZVESTIYA, both out of considerations for further development of glasnost and in order to prevent various kinds of conjectures and rumors. We proceeded from the idea of letting people see with their own eyes the work of the highest forum of state power, letting them have the opportunity to judge the work of their representatives not from hearsay, but according to the real democratic process in which they are participating.

Of course, the direct broadcast also had its costs. It stimulated a desire to take over the podium and generated a kind of oratorical agitation and a lack of respect for the procedures and regulations established at the congress. And to be quite correct, the congress was a good school of democracy, and it is also correct and self-critical to say that we have gone through only the initial stage of this school.

[Question] At the Congress of People's Deputies we did not hear a clearcut answer to Roy Medvedev's question about the fact that at least twice in M.S. Gorbachev's absence attempts were made to oust him from the post of general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. What do you have to say about this?

[Medvedev] At the congress R.A. Medvedev presented a lot of information regarding many issues. But in this case what he said was unfounded. In principle M.S. Gorbachev answered the question you raised in his final statement at the congress when he said that there had not been nor was there at the time any danger of a revolution in the Central Committee.

[Question] Will the Russian Federation be given the right to have its own party, academy of sciences, representation in the United Nations, and so forth?

[Medvedev] This question is far from simple; it is ambiguous and requires an in-depth study. At first glance it seems that there is some kind of departure from the principles for building the party since only one republic—the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]—does not have its own central committee. Some people think that this is an encroachment on the interests of the Russian Federation.

But one must recall the already existing practical experience which is assessed in various ways. I have in mind the experience in the creation of the Central Committee bureau for the Russian Federation. According to the evidence of those who have had dealings with this agency, its activity turned out to be largely ineffective, it duplicated the work of the CPSU Central Committee, it led to the formation of a practically dual apparatus in the CPSU Central Committee, and it complicated the problem solving process.

One must also think about whether or not there will be any advantage to Russian science from the formation of a republic academy of sciences. In general, one must approach this question thoughtfully and seriously.

[Question] What, in your opinion, is the main problem in the party requiring an immediate solution?

[Medvedev] I think you are well aware of the main problem. It is a deep and comprehensive restructuring of the party itself and the democratization of intraparty relations. We must more rapidly master qualitatively new, primarily political methods of work that make it possible to reveal people's opinions promptly and precisely and to conduct an open dialogue with all segments of the workers and with their social organizations and movements. We must trust more in the rank-and-file communists and rely on their awareness and activity. And, of course, we must be more demanding of communist leaders for practical implementation of the restructuring policy, especially in the social sphere.

[Question] Is there to be direct television broadcasting of the meetings of the Supreme Soviet?

[Medvedev] It would seem that the Supreme Soviet would make its own decision regarding this. As for my opinion, a complete broadcast of the work of the Supreme Soviet and its organs is certainly inexpedient if not impossible. For there will be both joint meetings of the Supreme Soviet and individual meetings of its chambers, committees, and commissions. And in many cases the work of some of these organs will be taking place simultaneously.

How can all this be included at once? Here it will apparently be necessary to make a choice. For instance, based on the social significance of the questions being discussed, in certain sessions it is possible to have direct broadcasts. And in addition to this there should be constant reportage.

[Question] Why has not a single one of the members of the Politburo who are USSR people's deputies not spoken at the congress?

[Medvedev] The Politburo positions regarding the key issues were reflected in the speeches at the congress by M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov. Moreover, A.I. Lukyanov expressed their ideas regarding a number of issues. The floor was also turned over to me as the representative of the editorial commission.

I can say that many of us were ready to speak and wanted to participate in the congress discussion. One must take into account that there are now 20 people in the Politburo. A total of 96 deputies spoke at the congress in the discussions about the speeches. And, as you know, there

were about 800 who wanted to speak. Frankly, we did not want to crowd out the other deputies. But if such a question arises, apparently it must be taken into account for the future.

[Question] There is concern about the sharp reduction of expenditures on defense, for in practice it is impossible to conduct accelerated development of new, more effective kinds of weapons, replace outdated kinds, and reduce allocations for defense.

[Medvedev] This is a very serious issue. We must be circumspect and take a measured approach to it. It is quite clear that a reduction of expenditures on defense should be carried out in such a way as not to harm our defense capability, taking into account the principle of defensive sufficiency. The USSR Supreme Soviet and its new committee for problems of defense and state security and the government are called upon to consider attentively and carefully all proposals for reducing defense expenditures, taking the entire set of factors into account.

[Question] Many of the country's party organizations are demanding that an extraordinary party congress be convened. What is the attitude in the Politburo toward this question?

[Medvedev] As we know, a little more than a year and a half is left before the next regular party congress. I personally would not rule out the possibility of moving it up a little. Many problems having to do with programs and regulations are ripe for nationwide discussion. All this seems to speak in favor of the possibility and necessity for this.

The CPSU congress must be preceded by a meaningful report and election campaign. Preparing for and conducting the congress requires complete utilization of party forces. But we have many tasks that cannot be put aside. This includes both the second stage of the political reform and the solution to national problems. It also includes the economic reform, to which we should make the maximum possible contribution before the beginning of the next 5-year plan. Holding an extraordinary congress would put off the solution of problems that should be dealt with immediately. And their solution, conversely, would be the best contribution to preparing for the party congress.

[Question] What is your attitude toward proposals from a number of USSR people's deputies to exclude from the country's Constitution Article 6, which is concerned with the role of the party in our society?

[Medvedev] It is the business of the highest state authorities to determining the attitude toward this article of the USSR Constitution. From my viewpoint it reflects the actual state of affairs. But, of course, the will of the highest authority is the constitutional formulation of this situation. It seems that this issue will be resolved democratically, relying on the opinion of the people.

Concerning the last sentence of this article, that the party operates within the framework of the Constitution, its appropriateness is obvious.

[Question] This has been the case up to this point: All important state and national economic issues pertaining to the exclusive competence of the USSR Supreme Soviet have been preliminarily considered in the Politburo and then brought up before a session of the Supreme Soviet. Thus, at the session the deputies had no essential function. The deputies voted in favor of a resolution previously prepared by the Politburo. Will the Politburo continue to impose its opinion on the Supreme Soviet as it has in the past?

[Medvedev] Indeed, in the past the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium have sometimes only formalized the decisions made by the Politburo. The political reform that has developed in the country has put an end to this practice. The role of the Supreme Soviet is changing radically. It is becoming a permanent legislative and executive organ imbued with broad authority to exercise state power and real control over the executive organs. All the fullness of state power is concentrated in the hands of the Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the organs created by them, which discuss and adopt decisions with sovereign authority.

Concerning the party and its organs, their efforts are concentrated on the development of key policy issues and political, organizational, and ideological work.

Of course, this by no means deprives Communists who are members of the Supreme Soviet of the opportunity to exchange opinions on those issues that are to be discussed in the Supreme Soviet and develop some common viewpoint regarding the most significant of them.

Weekly Publishes Poll of People's Deputies

18001269 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jun 89 p 11

[Opinion poll: "Our Deputy: A Sociological Sketch"]

[Text] **As we have already reported, the USSR people's deputies were offered a questionnaire by the "Opinion" public sociology service during the days of the work of the congress. By the last day of the work of the congress, 686 deputies, representing all of the country's republics, regions, and public organizations, had responded to the questionnaire. In responding to the questionnaire, the deputies could speak out on many of the problems troubling the Soviet people today.**

Thus, let us see how our deputies "voted" in response to the questionnaire.

(a) On cooperatives:	
—for expanding the rights of cooperatives	37 percent;
—for increasing control over them	51 percent;
—abstentions	12 percent.
(b) On the principles of criminal legislation:	
—for maintaining the death penalty	65 percent;
—for completely abolishing the death penalty	24 percent;
—abstentions	11 percent.
(c) On the issue of residence permits:	
—for maintaining the permit procedures in the coming years	53 percent;
—for immediate abolition of the permit system	34 percent;
—abstentions	13 percent.
(d) On reducing the armed forces and expenses for armaments:	
—for unconditional, even unilateral reduction	48 percent;
—for only mutual, joint reductions in armaments	46 percent;
—abstentions	6 percent.
(e) When the issue of political parties is raised:	
—for maintaining the one-party system	44 percent;
—against maintaining the one-party system	42 percent;
—abstentions	14 percent.
(f) On the issue fate of nuclear power:	
—for a basic increase in responsibility of the AES operation services	25 percent;
—for rapid, albeit expensive, improvement in AES equipment	50 percent;
—for the rapid shutdown and dismantling of all AES's	16 percent;
—abstentions	9 percent.

Now, we turn to the subject ever-present in the speeches from the tribune of the congress: What is first and foremost for the concrete creation of legislation and control activity both of the congress itself and of the Supreme Soviet selected by it? The preferences expressed by the deputies were distributed as follows:

1) Seeking funds to increase pensions and stipends	82 percent;
2) Reducing the number of ministries and departments	79 percent;
3) Developing measures to fight inflation	68 percent;
4) Transfer of enterprises to the property of labor collectives	54 percent;
5) Transition to ruble convertibility	51 percent;
6) Economic methods of ensuring production quality	41 percent;
7) Developing the conversion of military enterprises	32 percent;
8) Breaking up monopolistic enterprises	31 percent;
9) Organization of free enterprise zones	21 percent.

The commissions of the Supreme Soviet are beginning to carefully consider concrete candidatures for ministerial positions. The people's deputies also expressed their opinion on them during the course of our poll. The deputies evaluated their activity on a 100-point scale: 100, "I fully approve"; 0, "I fully disapprove." "The index of deputy support" as regards the leaders of our ministries and departments is as follows:

Minister of Foreign Affairs	82 points;
Minister of Defense	42 points;
Minister of Civil Aviation	42 points;
Minister of the Maritime Fleet	41 points;
Minister of Health	35 points;
Ministry of the State Committee for Education	33 points;
Minister of Internal Affairs	31 points;
Minister of Culture	31 points;
Minister of Railways	30 points;
Chairman of the State Committee for Statistics	30 points;
Chairman of the State Planning Commission	17 points;
Minister of Finance	16 points;
Minister of Trade	14 points.

The "theme of the voter" was a constant refrain at the congress. It was varied in all its range, from "the voter demands of me" to "the voters will not forgive us for this."

But in spite of the deputies' zeal, the average statistical voter is dissatisfied. It is paradoxical, but this denoted a failure of glasnost and democracy to coincide.

According to the data of the sociological group "Congress" of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociology, the overwhelming majority of those polled (from 83 percent in Alma-Ata to 93 percent in Tbilisi), want to know how their choices are voting, and thus are for the principle of roll call votes.

In responding to the "Opinion" service questionnaire, the people's deputies declared themselves to be "for" this as well. But not quite as decisively as their voters. Sixty-two percent of the people's deputies feel that everyone must know how each deputy votes on each question, but 28 percent of the deputies polled do not agree with this. The difference is not dramatic, but it is substantial. (Incidentally, 35 percent of the deputies preferred to respond to our questionnaire anonymously) What is the matter? Let us look more carefully:

"No"	28 percent,
Including:	
—no, because instead of a statesmanlike approach, a pursuit of popularity will dominate	10 percent.
—no, because this encroaches on the deputy's freedom of opinion and conviction	9 percent.
—no, because voting at the congress and at the session must be secret	7 percent.
—no, but for other reasons reasons	2 percent.
"Yes"	62 percent,
Including:	
—yes, this increases the deputy's responsibility toward the people	32 percent.
—yes, knowing how a deputy votes is the voters' inalienable right	12 percent.
—yes, this responds to the ideals of glasnost and pluralism, and the principles of a democratic state	16 percent.
—yes, but for other reasons	2 percent.

Tell me what you read, and.... In the poll, we asked the deputies to name the five newspapers and magazines which, in their eyes, are the most authoritative publications. The questionnaire's five lines allotted for this response were not enough for some of the deputies; for others, the number of "authoritative publications was limited to one or two. We cite the "index of authoritativeness" of various newspapers, weeklies and journals among the deputies (the figures signify the number of mentions of a publication for every 100 questionnaires):

—IZVESTIYA	57;
—ARGUMENTY I FAKTY	46;
—LITERATURNAYA GAZETA	43;
—PRAVDA	40;
—OGONEK	31;
—KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA	21;
—MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI	19;
—NOVYY MIR	18;
—TRUD	12;
—local republic, oblast, and city publications in Russian and national languages	11.

Other newspapers and journals have an index of less than 10 points.

The poll was financed by the "Experimental Creative Center" in Moscow.

We request that the source be cited when the numerical data are used. Copyright "Opinion" service.

Vorotnikov Chairs RSFSR Supreme Soviet

LD2406021389 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1950 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] On 23 June the latest session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet took place. The issue of the first in the series of tasks of the Russian Federation's Soviet of People's Deputies on implementing the decisions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies was considered. It was noted that the decisions by the congress on the fundamental tendencies in the USSR's domestic and foreign policies and ensuring the well-directed all-around development of the country are at the base of all of the activities of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, the Supreme Soviets of the autonomous republics, and the local soviets of the Russian Federation. In the decision adopted, the tasks of the RSFSR Soviet of People's Deputies on the implementation of the decisions of the congress are defined. The issue of the work of the Soviet of People's Deputies of Kaluga Oblast in fulfilling the decisions of the March 1989 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was considered. The session was conducted by Vorotnikov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

Leningrad's Two Fronts in Congress Viewed

18001285 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Jun 89 p 2

[Article by M. Belousov, TRUD special correspondent, Leningrad: "Two Fronts, One Rear"]

[Text] The Leningrad United Worker's Front was instituted on 13 June, and the Leningrad People's Front announced itself on 17 June. The first conducted its congress on the right bank of the Neva River, and the second, on the left bank. One met for 3 hours and the other, for 2 days.

After brief debates, the "right bank" resolved that the United Front, which was created by workers, is also open to members of the intelligentsia, students, and pensioners. An amendment was made to the resolution under the curtain of the congress of the United Front which called on the intelligentsia—that is, the absolute majority of the delegates—to agitate among the workers, without whom the front can hardly become a people's front. The congress, which was set up by workers, was opened by a member of the intelligentsia, a university docent, and an economist. The congress that was organized by the intelligentsia was opened by a worker from "Poligrafmash" [printing equipment].

There was not one professional photo journalist in the auditorium on the right bank. In the auditorium on the left bank, a polyglot group of newsreel cameramen, television reporters of popular programs, and... employees of foreign embassies, worked feverishly.

During the days of the meetings of the People's Front, representatives from various cities and republics met in private meetings in the same building to come to an agreement on the creation this fall of an association of People's Fronts. Nobody from the United Worker's Front was at that meeting. It may have been because at that very same time a speaker was being applauded at the congress of the People's Front who proclaimed: "Beware of the United Front!" No one from the United Front spoke here. I think for that very reason.

It is early to start talking about a confrontation of the newly born organization-movements, especially because the rear support of the two fronts is the same: Leningrad and Leningrad residents. However, time will tell.

The simultaneity of their appearance in the world did not surprise anyone in the city. This has happened more than once. Some kind of an organization announces itself, and immediately another one is found, with similar objectives, but with different leaders. This probably reflects a habit to "forge" cadres in strictly established places. Papers are still passing around the offices of the first aspirants for recognition, and a "double" emerges immediately. It is natural that even a person ignorant of protocol procedures believes, without doubting for a moment, that bureaucratic delays and the appearance of

exact opposites are the same ball of wax. No one tries to change your mind: because every action has a counteraction. So that, from the very beginning, new-born clubs and societies oppose each other in something.

And so it then occurred to me: Was one faction let loose against the other by some "unseen" hand? Isn't this why the United Front, about which nothing was heard a week ago, through its constituent act overtook the organizers of the People's Front, which spent almost several years in bringing forth its own organization? What is this, a front that seizes the initiative and somebody else's idea, or something else?...

But everything turned out to be a little more complicated. Indeed, it may have been possible in 1 or 2 days to seize this same initiative.

A meeting was held on 27 May, next to the largest stadium in Leningrad, whose purpose was announced over Leningrad television by the leaders of the future People's Front: to demand the resignation of the "city fathers," who did not receive support in the elections to people's deputies. Representatives of both future adversarial fronts spoke at the meeting. And both sides were unanimous on a majority of the burning problems that will determine the fate of Leningrad soil, water, air, and of the Leningrad inhabitants themselves. M. Salye, one of the leaders of the People's Front, took advantage of the remaining time in a television debate to extend invitations to the meeting. But one of the leaders of the United Front—I. Krasavin—who did not succeed earlier in the Leningrad soviet to get an answer from a deputy to his inquiry, appealed to the residents of Leningrad for a referendum on a "behind the scenes" deal by an executive of the ispolkom [executive committee], deputy chairman Bukin, with overseas partners. And the referendum was held. A majority of the voters gave a "no" on the back side of their ballots to the construction of a recreation center and a long-term lease of several thousand hectares on the shores of the Finnish Gulf at Lisiy Nos.

The meeting at the stadium also "shouted" its "no" to this deal. The results of the referendum, on Krasavin's demand, were published in Leningrad's newspapers.

In those days, workers who had written an appeal to all of the workers of Leningrad and the oblast were knocking on the door of the editorial office. It was an appeal to create a United Front. The appeal said "We cannot delay any longer," and it was adopted on 1 June. But it was not until 3 June that it was published in LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA—that is, 2 days before registration for the congress. The heading of the appeal "gave the assurance": "The doors are open to everyone."

In the meantime, the congress convened, and the front was approved.

Nonetheless, it is worth returning to the appeal. The Leningrad residents read more than one letter signed by workers during the time of stagnation and at the dawn of the restructuring. On checking up, it was learned that, other than the signatures of "his excellency the working class," there was nothing more there. The authors "labored" over the letters not in shops, but in the offices of the party raykom [rayon party committee], gorkom [city party committee], obkom [oblast party committee], the oblsovprof [oblast trade union committee] and the obkom of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League]. But the workers' inquiries of the deputies were correspondingly composed by officials of the gorispolkom [city soviet executive committee]. That is why the next letter with 13 signatures, even though important, and, it seems, touching, was written in another time—it smelled somewhat of old and overused forms. And it evoked, of course, corresponding reactions.

But the "undersigned" themselves did the convincing. These were not the "protocol" types, delegates of plants and factories worn out to the point of loss of consciousness, obliging honored guests at all congresses, aktivs, and ceremonies. These were new forces: first and foremost, workers who took part in the preelection campaign who each collected several tens of thousands of votes. They continued the dialogue that was initiated with the voters, and between themselves—candidates from the workers—they came to an agreement on reciprocity. The result is their enrollment in the United Front. And part of the deputies returning from the congress joined them here.

By the way, I will say that there were no speeches at the congress of the People's Front about the preelection programs, although there were among the leaders enough participants in the preelection campaign. It is no secret that the People's Front is also supported by a group of people's deputies, but they did not speak at the congress, although they dropped by the auditorium.

In addition to former candidates for deputy, the appeal was signed by members of worker's political clubs that arose in recent years in various outposts of Leningrad. In some ways these clubs are akin to many informal clubs and societies which joined the People's Front. And this also indicates that both fronts nurture themselves in the same way and that their rear support is one and the same.

The appeal of the workers became a unique kind of manifesto of the United Front. And the congress of the People's Front adopted its own manifesto. I will note only that the multi-page declaration, a draft of which was submitted to those who assembled at the congress, was rejected. This, it seems to me, is explained by the fact that the declaration is more like the program of a party. Not more than a hundred of all possible kinds of clubs, associations, and societies were represented in the auditorium, and, besides, the audience was by no means

nonparty. As a rule, these small "unions" did not consider the declaration beforehand. That is why the text of another declaration, which was shorter and pithier, appeared immediately. As a result, only the manifesto remained.

The congress of the United Front adopted its program, indicating in it its main objective—a fight for bettering the life of the people, accelerating socio-economic development, and for the restructuring of society that is necessary to do this. The program was already discussed in worker's political clubs, and, therefore, it did not evoke disagreement at the congress, and it was only refined. In essence, it was a summation of programs of former candidates to the people's deputies and, of course, it was well-known by their voters. It says in a straightforward way what the United Front is fighting for: for lowering prices, reducting the workday, increasing leaves, eliminating night shifts, banning women's work in harmful industries, increasing pensions, housing for each family, equal conditions of development for children irrespective of the social standing of the parents.... The United Front also intends to achieve equal economic conditions for workers of state enterprises and cooperatives, referendums as an important form of counselling with the people, public ecological examination of all production and projects, control by the people over the creation of joint enterprises, for natural resources and raw materials, and for the restoration and preservation of cultural and historical monuments....

The People's Front also expressed its objective in a "package of programs." Among these, the most important are the intensification and necessity for democratic reorganization, a civil democratic society, real people's sovereignty, and a rule-of-law state. One senses an uncertainty among those assembled as to whether the existing institutions of authority and laws will be able to cope with these tasks. From this comes the ways for achieving the objectives. The United Front chose a struggle that is reinforced by a society that is united, on the basis of socialistic interests and communist objectives of the working class, and which expressed the fundamental interests of all workers. The People's Front did not make such a choice. It sees the reason for the socio-economic and ecological crisis in the existing socio-political and productive relationships, and it believes that the only way out is a restructuring of the social system, that is, socialism as such. To the extent that not everyone supports such an idea, it is necessary to achieve a majority in the soviets. The leaders of the People's Front assign a central place to this task. The new elections are not far off. The front has to prepare its candidates for it. The United Front also has the forthcoming elections in mind. And even the committees set up at the congresses, although under different names, are very reminiscent of the commissions of the Lensovet [Leningrad soviet].

Perhaps the elections and everything that precedes them will show what is behind each of the newly created fronts, and what its real rear support is like. Up until now each of them has been concerned about self-affirmation. Now it is time for official recognition and an organization of affairs. The Leningrad oblsovprof has supported the United Front and has promised material support. This is understandable: The program of the front has so many unresolved trade union concerns that it simply could not stand aside. Both fronts need support—on the right bank and on the left bank of the Neva.

PRAVDA Reports on Kazakh Leader Replacement

PM2306113589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Second Edition p 2

[Own correspondents G. Dildyayev, T. Yesilbayev dispatch under general heading "Plenums Held"]

[Text] Alma Ata, 22 Jun—A Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee Plenum held here today discussed an organizational question. The plenum relieved G.V. Kolbin of his duties as first secretary and member of the bureau of the republic Communist Party Central Committee in connection with his election as chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee. N.A. Nazarbayev, who worked as chairman of the Kazakh Council of Minister before, was elected first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee.

The plenum was addressed by V.M. Chebrikov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Kazakh Interior Minister Speaks on Unrest

LD2306203289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] And now we will move from international problems to our problems and one of them, one of the most difficult of these problems is that of ethnic relations. As we have already reported, the situation in the town of Novyy Uzen in Kazakhstan remains difficult. Our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko asked Lieutenent General of Internal Forces Grigoriy Nikiforovich Knyazev, Minister of Internal Affairs of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], to speak in more detail about the events.

[Begin Knyazev recording] I will speak directly: the situation in Novyy Uzen is extremely difficult. The following picture speaks of this. During the day when the mass disorders began, 9 consumer services enterprises, 18 shops, 3 cafes, 18 stalls, and a pharmacy were damaged and 6 cars were set on fire. Twenty-five people were hospitalized, 15 were given on-the-spot medical help. As has already been reported earlier, three people died. The groups of extremist elements, numbering 300-350 people, armed with sticks, firearms, bits of metal pipes and other objects, made attempts to seize a gas-processing works and a water tower which supplied the town, to stop a shift team from travelling to work and to hinder the normal work of shops, consumer services enterprises, and public catering enterprises.

All this made it necessary to introduce a curfew. Due to the efforts of the militia subdivisions and the internal forces, the heat was successfully taken out of events, the pogroms were curbed, and the most active extremists and instigators were revealed and detained. Militia workers and servicemen of the internal forces are doing their duty in keeping order in very difficult conditions.

As of today 32 militia workers and 46 men from the internal forces have suffered at the hands of the extremist elements. Two of them were hospitalized with serious phyusical injuries.

It would be premature to give an unequivocal evaluation to the events in Novyy Uzen. However some ideas can be conveyed. A preliminary study of the reasons for the mass disorders has shown up blatant [word indistinct] in the cooperatives, really acute problems in the social structure of the inhabitants of the town and in the provision of work for the young people, especially those of local nationality. These problems have been accumulating for years, and it is simply not possible to resolve them over a short time period as the more aggressive young people demand. The government of the republic and the party and local soviet bodies of the oblast have elaborated and are implementing a set of measures directed toward improving social issues. A special governmental commission has been created. [end recording]

Chebrikov, Nazarbayev Visit Kazakh Enterprise

LD2206192589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrades, we have just received a report from Alma-Ata.

[Correspondent] Chebrikov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, who is in Alma-Ata today, visited the Alma-Ata (Kyzyltu) plastics processing production association. The enterprise produces consumer goods. Taking part in the meeting with the collective were members of the Central Committee Bureau of the communist party of Kazakhstan. [Video shows Chebrikov, Nazarbayev, and entourage touring factory and chatting to workers.]

There was discussion here about the problems of the enterprise's social development. The enterprise's workers also expressed interest in the results of the plenum which took place in Alma-Ata today at which Comrade Nazarbayev was elected first secretary of the Kazakhstan communist party Central Committee.

[Begin Nazarbayev recording] The restructuring processes are proceeding in such a way that people are analyzing the past, and in the common opinion they connect the mistakes which took place with the party. In this connection, it must be admitted that there is much work to be done in order to raise the role of the party organizations and, to put it bluntly, the prestige of the party, too.

If the party at one time piled all the economic functions and all the monitoring functions onto itself, naturally the party must now accept responsibility for these matters. Now, when we are moving towards a clear delimitation of the functions of the party and the power of the soviets, there is much work to be done here because up to now our party officials thought that if they shared power and engaged in purely political and party questions they would lose their power. This is not so. Very great work lies ahead here, vast and painstaking work by each Communist and each party organization. The main thing today for all Communists, for the party as a whole, is to support the party Central Committee in carrying out the ideas of restructuring.

Apart from the party, apart from the CPSU, I believe that there is no other force which consolidates all the current trends in our country to fulfill the ideas of restructuring. [end recording]

Complexity of ESSR Language Issues Viewed

18001276 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Article by I. Ovchinnikova (Estonian SSR): "Business Trip on Invitation"]

[Text] To say that it was not so much difficult (it is always difficult!) as it was painful to write about what I saw, heard, and felt during my last trip through Estonia would be to say nothing at all. For the most ardent confessions of love for this eternally green land are dull and meaningless in comparison to what I feel toward it. Not the health resorts of Pyarnu and Khaapsalu, Otepya or Elva, but the towns that are off the path beaten by tourists—Tyuri and Ryapina, Muya and Pyltsmaa, Vykhma and Suure-Yaani—these are my Estonia. I have written about the striking song festivals on Saaremaa, the touching days of the grandmother in Kokhtla-Yarve, the ecology trail in Maryamaa, about the easy-going and unusually businesslike little woman who is the chairman of the ispolkom [executive committee] of a rural soviet in the Estonian backwoods, the most interesting education scholars, and the caregivers in a kindergarten not far from Payde who were able to transform this garden into a thing of beauty.

But what is most striking to the eye of a person who, on the one hand, has known the republic for many years and, on the other, is free of personal prejudices and is therefore capable of looking at things without projecting what she has seen through the prism of her own interest?

When speaking with people and delving into the meaning of what they say at conferences, I persistently kept thinking about how actually toxic the dense fog of

hostility is if the simple thought never occurs to anyone: Have we deliberately made a scapegoat out of the so-called little man who has signed no agreements with anyone, has led no troops, has sent nobody anywhere, and has made no decisions to build anything or, conversely, not to build something? Why is he now the main person responsible for those who obediently saluted and gave their consent for the next plant or the next mine, knowing in advance that the work force would have to be brought in from Russia, Belorussia, or Chuvashia, for those who instituted in vocational and technical schools specialties about which (and this was also known!) Estonian boys and girls are not enthusiastic, which meant that the students would have to be recruited from the areas of Novgorod or Pskov?

And now, 20 or perhaps more years later, it is too bad, but having constructed everything that was allowed, including housing, for themselves as well, these boys and girls have ended up in the position of aliens, migrants, representatives of some rootless, marginal culture (there are scholarly words for everything in the world!). These are the people, it turns out, who eat and drink up everything and wear all the clothing that are in short supply for the indigenous population, of which they are reminded when standing in lines at stores and at rallies, and these are the people who are being told to go home.

Like many others, I admired the behavior of the Baltic deputies at the congress. Their restraint, the precision of their expressions, the refined quality of their programs. So it was even more surprising to hear that the Russians have a place to return to if they want to speak in their native language.

Return? But where? There is no longer any trace of those 15-year-old girls who were brought here from all over through organized recruitment. Did they exchange the apartment they received after many years of hardship? But how? With whom could they exchange it? Did they look for an Estonian in Voronezh or Mogilev? Did they begin life all over again?

This kind of a way out actually exists only for those who have neither roots, nor ties, nor customs—in a word, rolling stones. Are there many of them? For the majority the possibility of moving has been ruled out. But it is torture to live under the conditions that are offered.

There is a conference in Kokhtla-Yarve, in the northeastern part of the republic where the population is mainly Russian (in Narva, for example, only 4 percent are Estonians and in Sillamyaz you can count them on your fingers—there are reasons for this, but a fact is still a fact). Understandable, directors of Russian schools predominated among the participants in the conference. Many of them can speak enough Estonian to get by. They can get what they want in a store. But here... I saw how they kept asking one another to repeat themselves, trying hard to understand, but they were inevitably missing something.

All right, let the Estonian leaders not be obliged to put themselves out and give their reports and speeches in Russian; let us say that this would offend the national self-image. But at least organize simultaneous translation so that a good half of the hall is not turned into something like extras in a movie, called there for the sake of appearances.

There is no doubt that when one lives in a republic one must know the language of the indigenous population. But again, is an ordinary person to blame for the fact that in the Russian schools this subject has been taught for maybe a year or two and as an elective at that, and that it is practically impossible to put a Russian child in an Estonian kindergarten so that he can begin to speak the foreign language easily and painlessly: There are thousands of excuses for rejecting them.

Yes, today, at least if one is to speak of intentions, efforts are being made so that the non-Estonian population can master the language. A language center is being created under the republic committee for public education, funds are being sought, training aids are being prepared and personnel being trained quickly, and methods are being developed for accelerated training. But all this is more from the area of what is desired than from the area of reality. And even if they managed to achieve what they have set out to do as if by magic, it is still clear that the 4-year period stipulated in the law on language during which a person who has not mastered the language will not be allowed to work, say, as a doctor was made out of thin air.

But so far the Russian language groups in the VUZ's [higher educational institutions] and tekhnikums are being closed one after another. "Let them study Estonian intensively for a year and after that take classes in the language"—this was heard at the conference in Kokhtla-Yarve. It is easy to say: Let them. I would like to see somebody who has studied French for a couple of months set our for the Sorbonne. What would come of that? It just means that graduates of Russian schools are forced to obtain their education in Russia, and this means returning to the republic where their parents, their homes, and their ties are, completely losing even the little bit of Estonian they have learned. But how else can it be if people openly—without embarrassment!—speak about accepting Russian children into VUZ's according to some so-called percentage norm. For example, for the specialty "English language" in the Tallinn pedagogical institute Russians are allotted four of the 16 positions, and for mathematics and cinematography—five out of the 25, and of the 15 girls who want to acquire the specialty "vocational training and technical discipline" three are Russians.

It has come to this—there is nothing to say! Speakers from Pamyat, concerned about returning to the percentage norm (which existed for Jews in tsarist Russia) are being given the opportunity to try the Estonian experience on for size. And this is European thinking! Is it

possible to imagine that in any Western university, Chinese, say, are accepted depending on how many of them live in the country and not on their ability to learn?

I spoke with Russian-speaking residents of Estonia. Many of them wanted to learn the language and considered it a fair requirement. But how do they meet it if in Kokhtla-Yarve, for example, all teaching of Estonian is in the hands of cooperators. Perhaps they should invest a little money (the sum of R250 a month was mentioned to me) and then things would get going. But in almost the majority of Russian-speaking schools in Kokhtla-Yarveskiy Rayon the Estonian language is simply not taught, neither badly nor well. There are no teachers and there are no hopes that there will be any because graduates of the pedagogical VUZ refuse to go to the northeast, saying that they do not want to live among Russians. The result? Of the 55 teachers of the Estonian language only four have a higher education.

"Everything will change with time," the Estonian education authorities placated me. Maybe! Of course, everything has changed and it is just settling down. But how will it settle down? And we must live not tomorrow but today. And today Russian children, as has already been said, have to go to study outside the republic. And I do not know how it will stand to gain much if among them is, say, a future Pirogov for whom, unlike the famous surgeon, the doors of Tartu University are essentially closed.

And today the Estonian pretender to the throne of the country's first beauty queen prefers bad crude English to Russian which would be more appropriate in all respects since the competition is not international but all-union, meaning it is a case in which one should use the language of interethnic communication adopted in the USSR. I know, I could not help but know, what evoked this, from which layers in recent domestic history this malicious and senseless trick came. But still... I would like to know who will be better off because the future Urmas Ott will have to get an interview from the future Arvdas Sabonis through an interpreter.

But this is a problem of the Estonian school. At the same time the Russian-language school is looking for a solution, for itself and for those who have no time to leave Estonia and nowhere to go. The people already understand: Nobody is going to get the Russian-language school out of the sad situation in which it has found itself if this school, its leaders, and its instructors do not make a burst toward new quality and are not concerned about saving it and making sure that it survives. Lyudmila Dmitriyevna Savina, the chief of the Narva city public education administration, thinks a lot about this and is already doing something. She is a native of Narva and the worst of her nightmares would be to live in another city.

But Savina understands that she cannot go on living in Estonia as though it were Russia. She knows why many Russian schools look like Cinderella compared to Estonian ones, because there is not enough of the cult of amenities and orderliness and smart appearances that has been adopted from the Estonians. This means it is necessary to learn this. And they must also learn to love their own dances, songs, and customs.

This seems all right; where is the problem? Yes, but in this intention of Russian-speaking Estonia to be aware of itself there is also a dangerous aspect: Let us say that Narva is turned into a center for Russian culture. Does this mean that Tallinn is for the Estonians and Narva is for the Russians? But what will happen to us if we allow ourselves to forget that we are all first of all people, and only after that are we Estonians, Russians, Tajiks, or Jews, that the color of our skin can be different but we all have the same blood and tears. Is it not a crime even to take a little step toward that boundary where one merges into the other?

As we know, we are all guests on this earth. But if an Estonian, including one of the rank and file, again, like his Russian-speaking colleague, is not responsible either for poorly-thought-out laws or for the other evil actions of his leaders and he wants to declare himself to be the master in his land, he must understand that this high calling obligates him to a great deal. Alas, there is not always enough of this kind of understanding.

A minor trait. It would be possible to do without it were it not perceived as some kind of symbol. In dozens of trips through Estonia even before, naturally, I was accompanied by Estonians, but there was never a case when they did not let me in on the conversation: Somebody always translated. This time I was invited (I emphasize this!) by the chairman of the republic committee for public education. I traveled with him and his colleagues from Tallinn to Pyarnu and back and then from Tallinn to Kokhtla-Yarve and back, and my traveling companions continued to talk with one another in such a way that the only familiar word I caught from their conversation was "culture." This was not in keeping either with the rules of hospitality or with those for arranging business relations.

Culture cannot be reduced to merely the extremely useful ability to use a knife and fork. More than that it is the ability always to remember the simple and perhaps the only reliable way of teliing the good from the bad. It was suggested by the great sage Leo Tolstoy: Everything that separates people is bad and everything that brings them together is good and moral. Let us try to use this measure when approaching any word, deed, or decision, and perhaps we shall become wiser. We shall finally stop breaking things down. And we shall begin to build.

Estonian Green, Center Parties Made Official

LD2206171889 Helsinki Domestic Service in Finnish 1600 GMT 22 Jun 89

[Text] The Greens and the Center have been made official parties in Estonia. According to RAHVA HAAL the Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium decided this

matter yesterday. Now both groups can freely start their operation as parties. According to Estonia's communist party organ, they must now also carry political responsibility with their operations. The Green movement of Estonia has in practice worked as a political association since January.

Latvian Groups Hold Commemorative Meeting

LD2206171189 Riga in Latvian to Europe 2030 GMT 21 Jun 89

[Text] On Saturday [17 June] at the Doma Laukums, a meeting remembering the events of 17 June 1940 was organized by Latvia's National Independence Movement, the Riga branch of the Helsinki-86 group, the People's Front of Latvia radical association and the Environment Protection Club. The speakers demanded the restoration of a complete state independence for Latvia. After that the participants at the meeting went from the Doma Laukums to the Monument of Liberty to lay flowers.

Quite recently this place in the old city of Riga, where the building of the Latvian Radio is situated, was called the Septinpadsmita Junija Laukums [17 June Square]

Further on New Uzbek Party First Secretary

LD2406021789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1708 GMT 23 Jun 89

[Text] Tashkent, 23 Jun (TASS)—Islam Karimov is the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, a Soviet Central Asian republic with a population of 20 million. He was elected today at a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan.

Islam Karimov is 51 and has previously held the posts of the republic's finance minister and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. Recently he has been working as the first secretary of the Kashkadarya Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan.

The post of first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan was vacated by Rafik Nishanov. At the recent Congress of People's Deputies he was confirmed as chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Lithuanian Central Committee Plenum Held 24 Jun

LD2406154289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 24 Jun 89

[Text] Vilnius, 24 June (TASS)—Today a plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania took place here. It discussed the issue of the political activity of the Communist Party of Lithuania at the present stage, in addition to organizational issues.

A.K. Brazauskas, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Lithuania, gave a report at the plenum.

Role of Lawyers' Union Described in Interview

PM2206100989 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Jun 89 p 1

[Interview with M.P. Vyshinskiy, USSR deputy justice minister and chairman of the organizational committee in charge of convening the inaugural congress of the USSR Union of Lawyers, conducted by N. Boyarkina: "Why We Need a Union of Lawyers"; date and place of interview not given; first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] We asked M.P. Vyshinskiy, USSR deputy justice minister and chairman of the organizational committee in charge of convening the inaugural congress of the USSR Union of Lawyers [Soyuz Yuristov], to talk about why this new public organization is being created and on what foundations.

[Boyarkina] Mikhail Pavlovich, we have many varied public organizations, including professional organizations. We have a Union of Attorneys. Why is it also necessary to set up a Union of Lawyers?

[Vyshinskiy] Don't think me immodest but our society needs the Union of Lawyers even more than law-enforcement organ officials themselves do. Communist self-management for the people is our ideal. Society must "attain" this in the course of its historical development. This process is characterized by the narrowing of the sphere of state regulation and broadening of the sphere of influence of social structures and relations. Voluntary self-managed organizations are one such structure. Restructuring is enabling such organizations to make a real contribution to society's development.

[Boyarkina] How will this association benefit lawyers themselves?

[Vyshinskiy] Lawyers have a single aim: to build a rule-of-law state and offer people specific help, but no single public organization exists. They are separated by departmental barriers. Investigators work in three law-enforcement departments while legal advisers work in almost 100 sectors of the economy.

So, suppose your newspaper discusses new draft laws. You turn to practicing lawyers and legal specialists. For diverse opinions. That is maybe no bad thing. But, alas, there will be few free and impartial statements here. For they are always opinions voiced by officials who have their own particular departmental subordination. The Union of Lawyers will be able to discuss in a different way, with more freedom, more objectivity, and less constraint, any law that is in preparation. And, indisputably, in a more qualified manner. For this will be public opinion expressed by professionals.

[Boyarkina] We often get into difficult situations or simply create them ourselves owing to our own legal ignorance. Will the Union of Lawyers be able to help us citizens overcome our juridical backwardness?

[Vyshinskiy] Of course. One of the union's tasks is to provide legal education and legal instruction.

[Boyarkina] It cannot be said that we have not had this before. It has been done for decades but there are no results—at least tangible results—to be seen.

[Vyshinskiy] Certainly, just as with letters and numbers, you have to learn to make use of legal norms from a very early age. Tedious school textbooks must be refashioned and brought closer to the life and life-style that we lead day and night. People must be taught to use the law rather than simply assisted in learning something about the law.

We want to create schools of legal instruction for various categories of the population. Lawyers, too, will without doubt enhance their qualifications via the union.

[Boyarkina] Who is eligible to become a member of the USSR Union of Lawyers?

[Vyshinskiy] Any lawyer who studies the law professionally. Individual and collective membership is envisaged.

[Boyarkina] Can students at juridical higher educational establishments join the union?

[Vyshinskiy] No. Since they have not yet taken on the profession of lawyer. However, if, for instance, an Association of Student Jurists is set up, it may be admitted to the union. We need a young, energetic, juridical "underpinning" with the keen view characteristic of the young. The association could cooperate successfully with the "adult" union.

I would like to add that there will be branches of the USSR Union of Lawyers in the union republics. They will have their own statutes and independently establish their own structure and budget and their ties both within the country and abroad. The USSR Union of Lawyers will not control their activity but will only coordinate common work.

Gorbachev Attends Bolshoy Theater Ceremony

LD2406001589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 Jun 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The festive closing of the sixth international competition of ballet artists took place in the USSR Bolshoy Theater today [23 June]. [passage omitted] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Raisa Maksimovna Gorbacheva attended the festive closing of the competition. [video shows prizewinners receiving awards, shot of Gorbachev and Mrs Gorbacheva in box next to several empty chairs]

Yeltsin Book To Be Published in New York

LD2306231989 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 23 Jun 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Vladimir Tsvetov]

[Text] It has been announced in New York that a book written by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, a deputy in the USSR Supreme Soviet, is to be published there the first of next year. The book is expected to contain an account of the work of the Politburo, the CPSU Central Committee, and the Soviet Government, as well as the autobiography of Yeltsin. It is expected to be published in the FRG, Italy, Holland, Finland, and Sweden, as well.

At Yeltsin's insistence, all proceeds from the sale of the book will go to the Soviet fund to combat AIDS. In the statement published in New York, Yeltsin says that due to the catastrophic state of medical technology and the absence of single-use syringes and other necessary equipment, we have already witnessed in our hospitals the tragic death of patients, including many children, who have been given injections with infected syringes. I consider it my duty to do all in my power to ease this terrible situation.

Economic

Need To Combat USSR Monopolies Argued

PM0607092189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by doctors of economic sciences N. Volkov and G. Matyukhin: "Competition and Monopolies, Or Why Prices Rise and Quality Falls"]

[Text] The Soviet press increasingly often publishes critical articles aimed at excoriating the prevailing position of monopolies in the Soviet economy. And this can only be welcomed. But criticism should not be indiscriminate or based purely on emotions—although there is more than enough cause for emotions, as is clear from the articles published in the press.

The building of a socialist national economy in the USSR has been indissolubly bound up with the development and expansion of the influence of our home-grown monopolies on the economy. Under the conditions of the accelerated buildup of the country's industrial potential forms of centralized economic regulation prevailed and the appearance of monopolies was a natural result of the concentration of capital resources in large-scale production. There is seemingly nothing unusual about this process. In the United States, West Europe, Japan, tsarist Russia, and the industrially developed parts of the

Third World sectorial monopolies and later intersectorial associations have been inalienable components and proponents of industrialization. Concentrating considerable material, technical, financial, and intellectual resources under their auspices, the monopolies objectively promote efficiency in production and sales. In this respect all monopolies should not be seen as obstacles to restructuring.

But nor should we underestimate the fact that as industrial potential grows and scientific and technical progress gradually develops the influence of monopolies on the economy starts to be clearly seen in a process described by V.I. Lenin as a trend toward stagnation and decay. Ultimately the omnipotence of monopolies leads to an economic crisis which can only be averted by limiting and painstakingly regulating monopolies' activities through a special legal mechanism.

The most vivid example of the outcome of monopoly omnipotence is the 1929-1933 economic crisis in the world capitalist economy. The extreme power wielded by monopolies in the capitalist economies of the twenties created an economic crash which took 10 years to overcome. During this period the monopolies' wide-ranging clout was substantially cut back by the state, whose active regulatory role restored competition—the basis of the mechanism of goods production and the market economy—which had been reduced to impermissibly low levels.

The competition that was restored following the 1929-1933 crisis had gradually lost some of its positions by the seventies, and the omnipotence of monopolies, including state monopolies, had overstepped the bounds of the permissible. In the United States, for instance, this was seen in recurrent drops in production efficiency growth rates and a slowdown in scientific and technical progress in the auto industry, metallurgy, and air and rail traffic.

It was no accident that in the eighties it was these sectors that saw the active development of the processes either of breaking up production or of cutting back production capacity and beginning horizontal diversification in core activities.

The power wielded by monopolies in the Soviet economy is clearly at its height right now. The virtual absence of competition over the last 60 years has led to the emergence of supermonopolies wielding absolute power over the market. The pendulum of the correlation between monopolies and competition has reached the extreme where monopolies essentially represent a braking force.

The paradox of the development and "improvement" of the planned economy system in the USSR is that as we have tried to centralize accounting, production, and distribution of resources and output, the power of state departments in the shape of ministries, committees, and main administrations over the country's productive forces has automatically increased. More than 100 union ministries have complete control over 57 percent of industrial output, and the all-seeing eye of more than 800 union republic ministries and departments guarantees production, supply, and sales in the market of another 37 percent of industrial goods. Just 6 percent of output appears under the auspices of republic or local economic organs; these are monopolists too, only at a lower level and with fewer powers, but they are forced to pay bureaucratic rent to their superior union republic departments.

But supermonopolization has also affected direct producers. It was engendered in this area by excessive concentration of production. Statistics show that 4,294 science and production associations in industry comprising 7,868 enterprises (or 17 percent of all industrial enterprises) create more than 50 percent of output. Almost 55 percent of industrial production personnel are concentrated at these associations too.

By its very nature a supermonopoly contains powerful internal incentives to impede scientific and technical progress, reduce the quality of goods, and unjustifiably hike the prices of its products. And it is impossible to combat this except by developing competition. That is why all the developed Western countries have antitrust laws which prevent a single producer from emerging in a sector.

The existence of competition in the West stimulates scientific and technical progress and prevents the production of clearly low-quality output or the removal of cheap goods from production.

Supermonopolization also has an extremely negative effect on price formation. If we take, for instance, the most monopolized sectors of the United States—the auto industry and ferrous metallurgy—price rises in these sectors have been an order of magnitude higher than the average for the economy. Thus, by 1981 the wholesale price index for the 15 leading U.S. sectors had increased by 273 percent compared with 1950. During the same period prices of machine building products, where the level of monopolization is highest, had increased on average by 318 percent, while ferrous metallurgy prices had increased by 353 percent. In the least monopolized sectors, such as the textile and sewn goods industry, price levels increased by just 95 percent, while the increase in agriculture was 139 percent.

The absence of competition in our economy gives carte blanche to monopoly pressures in all the above areas. If we take machine building, which is meant to stimulate scientific and technical progress, in 1987 only 6 percent of all the completed work at sectorial scientific research institutes and design bureaus corresponded to the level of the best foreign developments.

The desire to exploit consumers' needs leads to paradoxical situations. Machine-building enterprises have started ordering metal from metalworkers with the worst characteristics and consumer qualities. Thus, in 1988 the

Chusovoy Metallurgical Plant handled 1,200 orders, of which only one was for the most efficient metal product. In this instance machine builders decided to make huge profits out of the cheapest metal, without caring that this economic activity affects scientific and technical progress and leads to huge losses in consumer sectors, an abrupt deterioration in the reliability and durability of machine building products, and soaring substandard production and injury indicators.

The disappearance of cheap goods and the hiking of prices for expensive products go hand in hand in virtually all sectors of the Soviet economy. The USSR Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems enterprises, which has a monopoly on the production of consumer equipment, sharply cut back production of R12 mini-alarm clocks in 1989. Whereas in 1988 3.6 million had been shipped to the stores, in 1989 only around 1 million were dispatched. Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Ministry of Local Industry enterprises stopped producing the R250 "Rubin 5" accordion in 1988, replacing it with the R340 "Rubin 7" accordion, whose newness, in the opinion of specialists, is purely superficial.

Particularly harmful to the economy are departmental supermonopolies, which, so to speak, nurture the negative aspects of supermonopolism in production. It starts, for instance, with the State Planning Committee, which gives a sector a state order in rubles, and ends with the sector producing one overcoat priced at R400 instead of 40 coveralls priced at R10. This happens in the West too, but the existence of competition and the lack of departmental supermonopolies makes such operations more difficult.

But we can permit a supermonopoly in production if it has emerged as the result of a temporary monopoly on the production and sale of a product appearing in the market for the first time. If there is competition in the economy substitute goods produced at lower cost or fundamentally new products which both oust obsolete goods and sharply limit the dominance of certain temporary supermonopolies in the marketplace will soon appear on the market.

Temporary supermonopolies formed as a result of the right of producers and developers to sell as they see fit goods with no counterpart in the marketplace throw up two possibilities—the suppression or the stimulation of competition. When it is a question of a temporary supermonopoly, the economic mechanism should not so much suppress as promote the implementation of its exclusive right in the market, which will ultimately deprive it of its supermonopoly status.

The struggle against a temporary supermonopoly is hardly likely to bring us any closer to the creation of civilized forms of market organization. In depriving producers of the right to temporarily earn monopoly profits in return for their risk and initiative in meeting real social needs, we will at the same time strengthen the positions of our "eternal" supermonopolies still further by removing from production a controllable temporary supermonopoly. That is why it is not just criticism but effective and wide-ranging differentiated action to combat supermonopolies that should now become one of the most important means in organizing a new economic mechanism in the USSR.

Temporary Import Licensing Introduced

PM0607102389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jun 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with V. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations, by own correspondent F. Ivanov under the rubric "Continuing a Theme": "The Debt Must Be Eliminated"; date and place unspecified; first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] As already reported, a system of licensing the import of goods and services from Finland and the SFRY is being introduced in the Soviet Union from 1 June 1989 through the end of 1990.

Our IZVESTIYA correspondent asked V. Vorontsov, USSR first deputy minister of foreign economic relations, to comment on this decision.

[Ivanov] Vsevolod Ivanovich, licensing imports will inevitably lead to a reduction in imports. What has prompted this step?

[Vorontsov] As is well known, Finland and Yugoslavia are two of our most long-standing and active trade partners. Many agreements which provide for the balanced development of economic contacts, including export and import operations, have been concluded with them. But, unfortunately, despite this, this is not the first year that commodity imports from these countries have considerably exceeded exports. As a result, we are in fact taking many goods on credit. To date, our running debt to Yugoslavia has reached $1.5 billion and that to Finland has reached R220 million. Naturally this is causing concern both in our country and among our partners. That is why the decision has been taken to introduce temporary licensing to balance out trade.

[Ivanov] How will this be implemented?

[Vorontsov] Enterprises and organizations planning to import goods and services from Finland or Yugoslavia must submit an application requesting a license for this to the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and to union republic ministries, departments, and Councils of Ministers in line with the list approved by a USSR Council of Ministers resolution of 7 March 1989. These applications will be studied very carefully, but licenses will only be issued to those participants in foreign economic relations whose volume of import operations corresponds to their exports.

The State Customs Control Main Administration under the USSR Council of Ministers has also been instructed from 1 June 1989 to allow through freight from Finland and the SFRY only if the importers concerned have a license.

All this, of course, only concerns commercial operations and does not extend to private individuals.

[Ivanov] So there are going to be even fewer goods from Finland and Yugoslavia available in our market?

[Vorontsov] Unfortunately that is so. But the debts have to be repaid.

Ministry Abolition, Fate of Plants Viewed

18280147 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Jun 89 p 1

[Interview with Ye.A. Varnachev, minister of construction, road, and municipal machine building, by V. Golovachev: "It Is Proposed To Abolish the Ministry"; date and place not given]

[Text] The forthcoming reorganization of the system of management in the national economy provides for a substantial reduction in the number of union ministries. This is a consequence of the further development of economic reform, of the policy aimed at increasing the economic independence of enterprises and territories. The USSR Minstroydormash [Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building] is on the list of 25 management bodies the abolition of which are proposed. All of these proposals are not final; a thorough discussion in the Supreme Soviet is in store, following which a decision will be made. However, these issues already concern many people.

What is in store for the employees of the apparatus of abolished ministries? Which industry will the plants end up belonging to? These questions opened our interview with the Minister of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building Yevgeniy Andreyevich Varnachev.

He has a reputation for being an experienced organizer of production. He graduated from the Urals Technical University, received the State Prize. He was a foreman, senior foreman, shift supervisor... In a word, he rose through all positions at the plant. More than 10 years ago, he became director of the Sverdlovsk "Uralmash" Industrial Association. Four years ago, they suggested that he head the ministry. This came as a complete surprise to Varnachev. He did not agree immediately, and he declined vigorously. Moreover, it is not that easy to leave a plant such as the "Uralmash." However, as they told him, somebody had to be moved up to the industry level. Over the last 3 years, the increment in the production of building, road, and communal machinery amounted to more than 17 percent (excluding the price factor). This is a lot.

However, at present the economy is embarking on a new path. Enlarged ministries are being created. As was said at the congress, these will be ministries of a completely new type, qualitatively different from the previous ones. There was no slot in the new management chart for the Minstroydormash, which is located in a 25-story modern glass and concrete building on Kalinin Avenue in the capital. At present, Varnachev is 56. He is mostly concerned about the future of ministry employees, those with whom he has worked for all these years, more than he is about his own future...

[Golovachev] What is the present size of the Minstroydormash staff?

[Varnachev] In the early 1980's, there were 1,100 persons. After reductions, 605 persons remained. This is according to the chart of the organization. Actually, we have 528. From the beginning of this year, we tried not to hire employees.

[Golovachev] It turns out that you knew that the ministry would be abolished, didn't you?

[Varnachev] No, nobody knew this. All we did was, so to say, display foresight. The prospects were not very clear, and we thought that under the circumstances people should not have been hired.

[Golovachev] What is the fate of these 528 individuals going to be if the USSR Supreme Soviet agrees with the proposals of the head of the new government?

[Varnachev] This is what concerns me the most. Look at how things are. We have 39 persons who qualify for retirement. I hope that those who are under 60 will also be allowed to take retirement—men 58 years of age and older, and women 53 years and older. At any rate, this was the case previously when the management apparatus was reorganized. If this is allowed at present as well, 57 more persons will retire. Altogether, this is 96, and 432 people remain. I hope that approximately 130 specialists will be taken in by other ministries and offices, to which our enterprises are scheduled to be transferred.

Nothing is clear in this matter, though. Say, I called ministers V.M. Velichko and N.A. Pugin (it is suggested that they be retained in ministerial positions). They responded: When the structure is going to be clear, we will talk specifics. However, they certainly cannot give any guarantees. I still think that they cannot do without many of our specialists over there. It remains for us to place 300 more persons.... This is a complicated task.

[Golovachev] You are doing something regardless, are you not?

[Varnachev] Certainly. We have approached our plants and factories in Moscow. However, their potential is also very limited. The collectives operate under economic accountability, you cannot order them about. They say:

We will take this one and that one, names indicated, and that is it. In general, it is not that easy for a specialist to find employment in Moscow. After all, at 50 or 55 some cannot work at machine tool stations, and then this is not the area of some of our specialists. Incidentally, many of them are quite highly skilled. In other cities, say, in Siberia and the Far East, such cadres are very badly needed. However, put yourself in their shoes: It is not easy to pull up the stakes at that age....

[Golovachev] If memory serves, staff reductions took place the year before last in the ministries, including yours. How did you resolve the situation then?

[Varnachev] Some people took retirement, some found jobs on their own. Still, we had to place approximately 100 persons. This took us several months. Sixty-four employees took jobs at the plants and institutes of our industry.

[Golovachev] Specifically, how many of them went to the plants?

[Varnachev] More than one-half. These were mainly economists, engineers, and other specialists. Several persons left Moscow. One of them, for example, went to Ukhta, and became the director of a tower crane plant there. He is doing a good job. Let me stress that no complaints have been made by any of the plants and institutes with regard to our specialists. On the contrary, all of them stress that our specialists are highly skilled and hard-working.

However, this time it is more complicated. The previous wave of reductions has filled many vacancies. Apparently, some people will have to go to the service sphere, probably to cooperatives. You can imagine how painful these processes are. We need to keep in mind the fact that we are dealing with real people at all times. They have families, children. Most of the people have been doing quite a job. It is not their fault that things have turned out the way they have.

[Golovachev] Do the employees of the ministry know that it is being abolished?

[Varnachev] From conversations only. After all, nobody has announced anything officially. Of course, I am not concealing it.

[Golovachev] When did you find out yourself?

[Varnachev] Approximately a month ago. I asked Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Machine Building Bureau I.S. Silayev what the future of the ministry was going to be after all. This is when what I had guessed at was confirmed. It is strange that the entire chart of management reorganization was for some reason worked out in secret from the heads of ministries and offices. Quite recently, at the Congress of People's Deputies, I asked someone for the proposals handed out to the deputies. One more time, I made sure that our ministry was not on the list. However, I repeat that there has not been an official declaration to this effect.

[Golovachev] Could it be that you would still know nothing had you not taken interest yourself?

[Varnachev] It is possible that I would not know, but this is purely theoretical. How can one fail to be interested in the future of his industry? However, since there has been no official declaration, many employees still hope that the ministry may yet remain. The people need to know everything precisely and in advance; after all, this affects their future. Many of them can find jobs themselves, but this takes time.

[Golovachev] How many plants are there in the industry, and where are they going to be transferred?

[Varnachev] There are 170 plants. These are mainly small plants, employing 700 to 800 persons. To be sure, there are several large associations. It is always easier for large collectives in the course of any reorganization. Small plants need help particularly badly.

Where are the plants going to be transferred? It is hard to say exactly. I have heard about the following suggestions: A segment of enterprises are planned to be transferred to the Mintyazhmash [Ministry of Heavy, Power, and Transport Machine Building], a segment to the Minavtoselkhozmash [Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building], and some to the system of the Gosstroy [State Construction Committee] and the Minlesprom [Ministry of the Timber Industry], and so forth.

[Golovachev] Yevgeniy Andreyevich, as the director of an industrial giant, the "Uralmash," you experienced "the pressure" brought to bear by the ministry, and "tangled" with it. Then you became a minister yourself... Therefore, you see the problem from both angles. Tell us whether the ministries are needed.

[Varnachev] I will say unambiguously: In this configuration, the ministries are not needed if there is real wholesale trade, and regular material and technical supply, without supply go-getters and jarred nerves.

[Golovachev] Is this to say that at present enterprises play the role of "arrangers" of raw and other materials and subcontracted products?

[Varnachev] Unfortunately, it is "yes" to a large degree. Also, we "squeeze" payments for our products from customers who have no money, and there are a lot of these. In a word, the functions of a management apparatus in a normal economy should be different. In that case, many ministries will not be needed at all. However, as I see it, in the absence of this the danger of destabilizing the economy increases if centralized management is eliminated in its entirety.

[Golovachev] Several years ago, the Minstroydormash switched over to wholesale trade by virtue of an experiment. Has this helped you?

[Varnachev] This was just appearance rather than wholesale trade. To be sure, it was somewhat easier during the first 2 years. However, the situation has deteriorated after that. Putting it bluntly, this was simply material and technical supply on preferential terms rather than wholesale trade of any description.

[Golovachev] Have there been many complaints concerning the operation of your ministry recently?

[Varnachev] Ask the employees of plants in our industry about this. They have nothing to fear now. Have there been complaints about the operation of the ministry?

The ministries are not always at fault; more frequently, it is the Gosplan [State Planning Committee], the Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], and our entire sick economy. Look how it is—plans are not balanced, the metal is short for meeting the production program, you lack this and that, but the plan must be fulfilled. An odd kind of "scissors" emerges. On the one hand, the ministry has no right to "pressure" the plants, and the collective establishes its own plan. On the other hand, the ministry is responsible for the plan of the industry. How are we to get out of the impasse? This issue has not been resolved yet. The ministries and, through the ministries, the enterprises are assigned state orders, allocation schedules for finished products, and so forth. This is the old dictate of the center in a new guise. So, the problem is not only in the operation of ministries, though it must be said that they have a good deal of shortcomings and bureaucratism.

[Golovachev] Here is an interesting fact, however. I have heard that the plants of your industry propose to set up an association (based on the apparatus of the ministry) instead of the Minstroydormash, and maintain it at their expense. Has there been such a proposal?

[Varnachev] There has been such a proposal, but it has not received support. This fact, incidentally, tells you how the plants treat the ministry. This is number one. Secondly, this is also a response to the question on whether we need such a management organ or not. After all, nobody is out to waste money in this day and age. I am not saying this in the hope to fight for the survival of the ministry; I believe there is no going back on this one. The point is that the plants still need some management organ. It is possible that this organ will be created.

[Golovachev] Apparently, not an organ above the plants, but that of the plants, reporting to them...

[Varnachev] Certainly, with different functions, and for other tasks.

[Golovachev] Pardon me for this "awkward" question: Have you missed the plant? Where do you like it better—at the plant, or at the ministry?

[Varnachev] I would not like to answer this... It is difficult to compare. However, if I were to be honest, the plant lies much closer to my heart.

[Golovachev] Has your salary increased a lot in your post as minister (compared to the pay of general director)?

[Varnachev] No, it has not increased.

[Golovachev] What are your personal plans? Are there prospects? Where are you going to work?

[Varnachev] Nothing at all is clear. However, I have not given it much thought. The main point is to make sure that all the people are given jobs, and the plants have no complaints. This is my main goal as of today. I believe I will find work.

...As I was leaving the office of the minister after the interview ended, the head of another ministry, which was also being abolished, called Varnachev.

"How is life?" Varnachev asked him back and grinned. "Just as at an airfield. We are waiting for the command to take off... In general, everything is normal."

When someone jokes, this means that no particularly tragic events are taking place. So, life goes on. However, Yevgeniy Andreyevich is undoubtedly right in that they should be thinking right now about the future of people who will lose their jobs in the headquarters of the industry soon. The minister is not the only one who should be doing that.

Co-op Association Supports Restructuring

18270114 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 23 Jun 89 p 3

[Interview with Viktor Ivanovich Korchagin, President of the "Rossiya" association of cooperatives, by G. Savelyev: "Rossiya Offers"; date and place not given]

[Text] **The founders' congress of the "Rossiya" association of cooperatives took place in October of last year. V. Korchagin, chairman of the "Feniks" cooperative, under USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], was elected its president.**

[Savelyev] Viktor Ivanovich, why was there a need for the cooperative members to unite into an association?

[Korchagin] An association was needed in order to assist the cooperatives which are not yet firmly on their own feet. Legal help is provided to "Rossiya" members by the law cooperative which belongs to the association. The cooperatives' bank will give credit at the usual rates to those who need money.

I would note here that the various forms of assistance and interaction in no way affect the economic freedom and independence of the members of our organization. There is no interference in the economic-financial sphere. All contacts are implemented on a commercial basis.

Today, 3,500 cooperatives have entered "Rossiya." At the same time, we are against "solid collectivization" in the cooperative sector. They appeal to us to enter some sort of union of unions. But we are advocates of economic independence and are against a bureaucratic apparatus imposing on us from above. We do not want to turn up in the role of the kolkhozes [collective farms], which are dominated by Agroprom [State Agro-Industrial Committee]. Life has shown the inefficiency of such a superstructure.

[Savelyev] You speak of the interests of the cooperative movement, but how can these be combined with the interests of the broad strata of the population? Cooperative members are dissatisfied with the deficiencies in raw materials and production capacities, and people are indignant over the high prices. Where is the exit from this cycle of contradictions?

[Korchagin] On the issue of prices. As an economist, I maintain that the objective laws of the market establish prices best of all. They are simple: The price of goods depends upon the correlation of demand and supply, and strives toward their equilibrium. For example, the cooperative members raised the price. What will happen then? The supply of the goods will exceed demand for them. That is, the goods have been produced, the expenses incurred, the wages paid, but nothing is realized. In this case, the cooperative enterprise will either go bankrupt, or lower the price.

Let us examine another variation, when the price is lower that the level of demand and supply. Incidentally, this variation is offered in many readers' letters published by the newspaper. In particular, they speak of Goskomtsen [State Committee on Prices] having fixed low prices for the cooperative members. Then, this low price level leads to a deficit. Naturally, customers, in order to avoid being without the goods they need, agree to pay a higher price. This is exactly how the grimaces of the shadow economy in the state sector are explained; hoarding goods, "back-door" sales, speculation... This is a reaction to volitional establishment of prices.

Competition among producers of goods plays an important role. It dictates the minimum necessary prices. Incidentally, the theoretical explanation of the mechanism of price formation in the cooperative sector hardly calms the millions of people who obtain each ruble with difficulty. The people are justifiably dissatisfied when they come into daily contact with the exorbitant prices of the kabob vendors and other similar operators. The kabob vendors are a ugly dwarf in the ranks of the cooperative members. In order not to become like the dwarfs, the cooperative members need a solid economic basis, and radical changes in the system of management.

[Savelyev] Are you proposing to introduce cooperative and personal property into the means of production to supplement state property? This sounds unaccustomed and warrants a certain amount of commentary.

[Korchagin] There is nothing unusual here. At industrial enterprises, the transfer of means of production to the workers in the form of cooperative property, in the form of stock, is without compensation. It is without compensation since the enterprises are built upon the money of those very workers. Under effective organization of production, stockholders will receive that part of the profit subject to division. The right to allocate income, everyone's personal interest in increasing labor productivity, and in the further increase in production efficiency: These are what form the feeling of an owner.

[Savelyev] We had wanted to interview the people's deputy from the cooperative members, but we could find no such person...

[Korchagin] And you will hardly find one. Our association was registered last year, the only one among the other associations of cooperatives, and we had counted on getting a quota for nominating our own candidates. But we did not get one. We attempted to nominate our candidates in national okrugs, which was also useless. The electoral commissions simply refused to register many of them; others suffered defeat at okrug meetings. And this is not surprising either. The majority of the population regards cooperative members negatively. The most striking confirmation of this is the pogroms in Nebit-Dag, when youths devastated, destroyed all the cooperatives in the city in one night. People do not yet understand that it is not the cooperative members, but the imperfection of the economic system which is to blame for the fact that they receive much less than they deserve. Of course, our lack of experience in conducting a pre-electoral campaign also left its mark. As a result, the army of 1.5 million cooperative members was left unrepresented in the highest body of power. And after all, we have many problems. This is why we feel that within the Supreme Soviet, a commission certainly must be created which will concern itself with the development of the cooperative movement.

Despite the rebuff, we do not regret having participated in the pre-electoral campaign. On the average, our candidates won 10 percent of the votes, twice as many as we had anticipated. But the main thing was that participation in the elections and meetings with the voters allowed us to familiarize the population with our program, the basic sense of which is quite simple: land to the peasants, plants and factories to the workers.

[Savelyev] Is the "Rossiya" association capable of influencing production quality in the member-cooperatives of this organization?

[Korchagin] Competition is the chief regulator of quality. The cooperative member receives income when the goods are sold. And he receives more income if he sells more goods. But after all, people will only buy in the event that all other conditions being equal, his production is distinguished by its high quality. Thus, the cooperative members do not have to be forced to raise quality under duress.

The association recommends that its members use the experience of world economics in increasing the quality of production. In particular, we propose the introduction of the Japanese system of quality circles.

[Savelyev] They say that the cooperative members are rolling in money. How do you regard money? What place does it hold in your life?

[Korchagin] As an economist, I consider money to be a means of exchange. In this respect, I regard them positively. My monthly salary is R700. Whoever thinks that cooperative members are complete swindlers, self-seekers, and speculators is deeply mistaken. When a person becomes the real master of his own affair, the desire for self-expression in interesting work takes first place. Money recedes into the background.

[Savelyev] We involuntarily link the emergence of racketeering with the appearance of the cooperatives. Can "Rossiya" protect its members from the criminal net of predators and extortionists?

[Korchagin] Racketeering, as a rule, is practiced against lone cooperative members. You can't stand up to them alone. Our association united the cooperatives and cared for their defense.

Racketeering is not the most important issue for us. The primary attention of the "Rossiya" association of cooperatives has been turned toward the realization of the plans of restructuring. We are prepared to apply our efforts and creative energy toward the support of fundamental transformations in the economic and political spheres of our society.

New Economic Reform Commission Examined

18200400 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 24 Jun 89 p 1

[Report by special correspondents M. Aleksandrov and L. Telen: "Academician Abalkin: 'Confrontation Is Not Desirable'", in discussion with Leonid Ivanovich Abalkin and Academicians M. Bronshteyn, V. Tikhonov, N. Travkin, and V. Lisitskiy; date and place not given]

[Text] **Today decisive battles for restructuring have unfolded on the economic front. If we manage to shoe, clothe, and feed people not just in any way, but according to ever increasing expectations, we will have the opportunity to develop reform. If we do not manage to do so, the consequences will be most grave. And simply "exerting ourselves more" in our work is not enough; we must achieve a complete breakthrough in the entire economic sphere. This will be furthered by a new organ of government, the State Economic Reform Commission.**

N.I. Ryzhkov, head of the government, has recommended Academician L. Abalkin to the post of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and leader of the State Economic Reform Commission. In presenting him, the chairman of the Council of Ministers emphasized that now as never before we perceive the necessity of attracting leading scientific forces to work in government.

We are living under conditions of economic reform, feeling all of its "pluses" and "minuses." How can we do without theoretical elaboration? After all, only with their help can we plan the phases of advancement. The State Economic Reform Commission must become not only a coordinator, but a generator of ideas.

We Exchange Thoughts.

"Leonid Ivanovich, what must the interrelationships of the state commissions and the parliamentary commissions be?"

"Business-like contacts must be sought. In my view, any confrontation is undesirable. It seems to some deputies that the apparatus wants to trick them and they must stand guard all the time... The apparatchiks have their own reasons: We, they say, have worked, have had heart attacks, and here come the controllers... Mutual suspicion is dangerous. We do not need competition on a tug-of-war principle."

"Which economists would you call your like-thinkers? Do you subscribe to any point of view other than your own?"

"I think that since 1987 a feeling of concern and responsibility has forced the economic scientists to forget their private differences and unite to seek solutions. I must speak about something else as well. I am certain that the government's program is open to everything useful. All the ammunition possible must be used for the sake of the cause."

"Leonid Ivanovich, how do you assess the draft of the 'general principles on restructuring the management of the economy and the social sphere in the union republics'?"

"I feel that we must live in the real dimension of time. What is written in the 'principles' is the maximum possible today."

It is hardly necessary to present to the readers Academician L. Abalkin, the distinguished Soviet economist at the source of the current economic reform. We will only add that at the insistence of N.I. Ryzhkov, Academician

Abalkin will remain in his position as Director of the Economics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, thus preserving the vital link of this authoritative scientific center with the government.

In the statement of program to the deputies, L. Abalkin indicated that he sees as the state commission's first task the provision of coordination and cohesion in the actions of the ministries, departments, and union republics.

The measures which must be taken in the coming 18 months are of a dual nature. Some are to bring the economy into general recovery and the country out of its crisis situation. Others are calculated for the long term. These are first and foremost the laws on property, land utilization, and the tax and credit-finance systems.

One of the most important tasks of the State Economic Reform Commission, which must be resolved no later than autumn, is the creation of a clear concept of the current phase of reform for the next 6 and a half years.

Academician L. Abalkin named four key problems which hold decisive meaning for the fate of economic reform. It is necessary to normalize the entire monetary-credit sphere of the national economy. Its stabilization demands completely new approaches, the reorganization of banking, the credit system, the regulation of monetary circulation, and the introduction of a new taxation system. This requires exploitation of world experience.

We must develop and adopt a system of antimonopoly measures in order to eliminate monopoly in all of its various manifestations. "When we began to figure this out," the scientist noted, "we were horrified by the scale of the monopolies, one of the most basic manifestations of the deformation of socialist society." He proposed that the Budget and Planning Committee of the Supreme Soviet allocate funds for new projects only on a competitive basis.

There Is Doubt...

Academician M. Bronshteyn: "I cannot agree with the unnecessarily critical evaluation of the draft law on the economic independence of republics. It seems to me that at fault here is the old prejudice which arose when the ideas of our economists were truly naive and not well thought out. But the situation has changed. The model of Estonia and Latvia—this is not a closed, but an open economy. Turn toward the Baltic proposals!"

Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences Academician V. Tikhonov: "I also feel that there cannot be any skipping over stages. But there is also a danger in excessive gradualness. Today the ministries are the keepers of all resources. They are restraining the development of the market, thus of all reform. Would not the antimonopoly program be hollow if decisive reform of the ministries were put off until later?"

It is obvious that we must reject gross volume indices. Otherwise, there will be neither a balanced economy, nor quality production, nor a saturated market. It is finally time to make the transition from dividing the state pie to earning resources for any purposes, whether this is modernization of rail transportation, increasing the quality of health care, or replacing the decrepit fixed assets of ferrous metallurgy. Everyone must be given the opportunity to earn money through honest labor.

I Cannot Agree

N. Travkin: "The recent decrees on income control were not evaluated in Academician Abalkin's program. These resolutions, I am certain, will actually curtail reform and discourage both the individual's and the enterprises' interest in earnings."

V. Lisitskiy: "You have not expressed your attitude toward the 15 March decree on the economy's financial recovery. I have worked in a factory my entire life and am prepared to testify that the proposed administrative measures had a disheartening effect on my work mates. In fact, the measures undermined faith in economic accountability. Is this any way to plug up the holes in the budget!"

Academician L. Abalkin had to answer many questions from deputies, who, having approved the idea of creating the State Economic Reform Commission and supported the scientist's candidacy for the post of its chairmanship, expressed their views on economic problems.

The discussion of candidates for government posts is continuing in the commissions and committees of the Supreme Soviet.

Agricultural

Official Explains Foreign Grain Purchases

PM0607093589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jun 89 Second Edition p 4

["Interview With Letter in Hand" in Moscow with O.A. Klimov, director of "Eksportkhleb," by N. Larionova: "This Acute Grain Issue"; date not given; first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] "I heard the precise figure for our grain imports for the first time in N.I. Ryzhkov's speech at the Congress of People's Deputies. I was, of course, staggered by the figure of R5 billion. And then again Yu. Chernichenko's speech stated so clearly that the ever-increasing purchases of foreign grain in exchange for our oil are the result of purely political reasons, and it is expensive grain that is bought—for bread baking. Pardon me, but surely it was explained to us for many years that we import exclusively feed grain and that this enables us to concentrate on wheat production? What, after all, do we buy abroad: high-quality grain or feed? Who plans this

distribution of our hard currency receipts? I cannot understand at all how we are to get rid of this yoke by the name of grain imports. P. Gladkov, Moscow."

Oleg Aleksandrovich Klimov and I had agreed to meet at noon, when his first wave of urgent business would have subsided. I have read and heard a great deal about "Eksportkhleb" ["Grain Export"], which Klimov heads, and I have also heard about its director—recently the press has not left him alone. I went to "Eksportkhleb," to the high-rise building in Smolensk Square, for the answers to the reader's questions.

Oleg Aleksandrovich came out to meet me through the glass doors of his office, behind which the world of the grain trade, which is known to few people, began. The teletype machine was clattering indefatigably, and two secretaries were tapping out a harmonious melody on their typewriters, like two piano players. Klimov's small office did not appear cramped because of two huge windows right along one wall.

Our conversation began right on the threshold, even before Klimov invited me to sit down. And he began with a warning:

"Since I have only been here 2 years, I cannot be held responsible for the entire history of grain imports. But I can provide you with all the information that I have. I propose beginning the conversation by saying who adopts decisions on grain purchases. There is no such concept as a foreign food policy. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and foreign trade associations fulfill the government's instructions. Decisions are adopted at the highest level and take the form of Council of Ministers resolutions.

"There are quite a lot of resolutions during the year. It has never yet happened that a plan has been outlined at the beginning of the year and then maintained to the end. Last year we worked to seven Council of Ministers resolutions, and five decisions have already appeared on account of the 1989 plan. They indicate practically everything: total volume, specific delivery times, assortment. The Ministry of Grain Products decides how much of what grain the country needs. And we fulfill its orders.

"We are called very strictly to account for delivery times. But whereas at the beginning of the agricultural year we are able to plan purchases, the closer we get to its end, the more frequently decisions come up with a very short delivery time, when there is no time left to maneuver."

[Larionova] What functions does your association fulfill, if everything is indicated in decisions?

[Klimov] The association plays the role of a consultant. People ask us whether it is possible to buy and what the price level will be. True, they do not always listen. We say that it costs so much, but they give us less currency and urge us: "Make do." They require us to save currency as much as possible and buy at the cheapest prices. Nevertheless, we ensure the purchase of high-quality grain and take all measures to get it here intact.

[Larionova] Does it not prejudice the grain quality by buying at the lowest prices?

[Klimov] All grain dispatched from a foreign port fully meets our requirements dictated by the customer. The quality of the grain dispatched is monitored by neutral control organizations. The vendors provide us with a certificate of quality for the grain consignment. The contract will not be paid unless the grain meets our requirements. The quality is checked once again on arrival at the Soviet port, this time by the state inspectorate of the Ministry of Grain Products.

It is here that divergences begin. We buy the commodity in accordance with the standards of the exporting country, but we check it against the Soviet Union's standards, against state all-union standards. But our state standards, unfortunately, do not correspond to international requirements. Our standards and methods of defining quality are still far from perfect. We base everything on the organoleptic method (to put it primitively, rating by color, taste, smell, and external appearance). The West has already gotten away from these methods and indicators and replaced them with more objective ones.

A certain protein content has now become an indispensable condition of contracts, but there are no complaints in this regard. There are complaints concerning grain impurity, increased moisture, foreign bodies, dross, and odors in respect of a small proportion of cereals. But after treatment in elevators the grain is used to bake bread or to prepare mixed feed. As regards an admixture of weeds subject to quarantine, we do not import grain for sowing when the presence of other plants really becomes an obstacle. When it is necessary to buy grain for sowing, the consignments are selected carefully. Incidentally, it is not we who buy such grain but "Soyuzplodoimport." And we get extremely little dockage. On 13 January, for example, the motor ship "Meraklis" delivered 50 tonnes of corn with 2 grams of ragweed per kilogram and 4 grams of weed dockage per kilogram. Imagine—just hundredth parts!

The question of what harm this dockage does is a moot point. We are constantly holding talks on changing the "Soyuzgoskarantin" requirements, because it is impossible to get rid of grain dockage completely. Theoretically, it is possible, but then the grain will cost $20-30 more, and at the same time there will be more harmful substances in it from the use of chemicals.

[Larionova] But if we stop importing grain? Perhaps that will encourage production inside the country?

[Klimov] It is simply ridiculous to argue that we do not produce enough grain in the country because we import it. This is, I would say, inverted logic. We import grain precisely because there is, unfortunately, not enough in the Soviet Union. And not enough grain to bake bread for you and me. In order to decide whether or not it is necessary to import, you have only to determine the difference between the minimum requirement and what our agriculture gives us. In the case of grain this difference is very great, and we are called upon to reduce it.

During all the preceding years, right up to this year, which is to some extent an exception, food wheat made up half the imports, sometimes more. It accounted for 40-70 percent of the total volume. At the same time the Ministry of Grain Products always asks us to buy wheat with a high protein content. Why? The milling production technology in our plants is not perfect enough. Whereas many different additives are used in the West and they obtain more bread with a low protein content (this is also done to stop it from getting stale), our technology is still based on the natural strength of wheat.

Therefore we buy up high-protein grain all over the world, but not so much of it is produced in the world. All the same, we cannot satisfy in full the demand for such grain. That is the first point. Second, there is not enough money. Because a higher price has to be paid for this wheat. We buy it from Canada, the United States, and Argentina.

It has to be said that the situation on the grain market has recently deteriorated badly. Cereal prices fell sharply in 1986-1988, and many countries stopped growing cereals for sale. The United States used to have considerable reserves, but over these years we have "rubbed them out," and last year's drought also told there. According to the estimates of the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, secure grain stocks in the world must stand at 350 million tonnes, whereas there will be just 290 million tonnes left as of 1 July. That is, stocks will be below the safe level. Therefore opposition to grain exports to the Soviet Union has now grown very strong in the United States. For example, when President Bush adopted the decision in May to subsidize the sale of 1.5 million tonnes to us, certain circles gave it a hostile reception.

[Larionova] How is grain purchased? Who concludes deals?

[Klimov] The mass media have repeatedly written that delegations travel abroad to buy grain, and as soon as they set out, the grain prices at once rise sharply. That is quite false. Grain delegations travel only to socialist countries, because we have evolved this practice in trade with them. The scheme of purchases in the capitalist world is different. We work to a tender system—that is, in the course of a single definite day we purchase large grain consignments on the basis of quotes on the Chicago or Kansas exchanges. We constantly monitor the exchange prices, make a prognosis for the future, and outline our general tactic. Then we determine the moment when, according to our calculations, prices will be somewhat lower. Falls happen on the exchanges—"dips." We endeavor to catch them, and we go out into the market and buy from the firms which are letting grain go at the lowest prices. We telex or telephone our offers to the companies. So we make all our purchases from Moscow! Perhaps direct talks took place in the past, but we have acted only in this way for the past 2-3 years.

We receive 10-30 offers a day from various firms and choose the most advantageous. We tried going directly to the Chicago Exchange, but it turned out that it costs $1-2 more to buy grain from the exchange than if we directly approach partners known to us. Our trade partners give big discounts in the acute competitive struggle. There have even been cases where firms have lost not even $1 million but tens of millions of dollars, but they have always fulfilled the contracts.

[Larionova] Which firms' services do you employ?

[Klimov] People write that we buy only from large companies and do not utilize the potential of medium- and small-size ones. The chief thing for us is to buy at the cheapest price grain of the quality required. Therefore we turn to the most competitive firms. We certainly do not discriminate against anyone. If a company can fulfill the terms of a contract, we work with it. Incidentally, our contracts are considered very tough with regard to quality, dates, and the condition of the grain. For example, we do not pay for the commodity when it is dispatched but, frequently, when it has already arrived in the Soviet Union. Therefore a firm must have great financial potential in order to see through the period between dispatching the commodity and the documents' reaching the Bank for Foreign Economic Activity. And several more days are spent studying these documents.

In the United States we work mainly with 30 firms. In late 1988 and early 1989 we bought the largest quantity of grain from Ferruzzi and a little less from Cargill, Continental, Dreyfus, Tradigrain, and others. Recently we have begun trading with Japanese firms which have branches in the United States. They have their own elevators and means of delivery. There is one bad point—they sell small grain consignments of 50,000-100,000 tonnes. In the United States we also cooperate with cooperatives—the main suppliers inside the country—but they cannot give discounts.

[Larionova] What are the current prices of grain crops?

[Klimov] Prices are high now: At the official quotation, 1 tonne of wheat in the United States costs $175-180, corn costs $120, and soybeans cost $290.

[Larionova] How much grain do we import?

[Klimov] In 1988 we imported 35 million tonnes of pure grain and, in addition, we bought soybeans. In the first half of this year we are importing quite actively, and volumes are greater than for the same period last year.

[Larionova] Will we ever again be able to export grain?

[Klimov] We are actively seeking suppliers of grain for export. We must give credit where credit is due, for our grain has always been renowned for its quality and been in great demand on the world market. Kazakhstan wheat (it contains 14 percent protein) used to go for export. A very limited quantity of grain of such quality is produced on the Western market. Only the best strains of Canadian wheat can compare with our Kazakhstan wheat.

We are already being made various offers, but they are sporadic. We take a positive view of the idea of currency encouragement for increasing above-plan handover within the country and reducing imports. Unfortunately, farms frequently offer grain for export although they themselves have not fulfilled the state's plan. In this case they do not have the right to make an official offer. But there already are official offers. Thus, Belorussia's Agro-Industrial Committee recently offered 10,000 tonnes of rye. Perhaps this small consignment will be the first swallow?

So far we have not sold a single tonne, but we are working through specimens of our grain and determining the quality—without which it is impossible to export grain crops. In general, we are preparing to export grain and we hope soon to justify our name of "Eksportkhleb."

Poor Fuel Distribution Affects Harvest

PM0607154989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jul 89 Second Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA collective correspondent and PRAVDA UKRAINY editorial office: "Is There No Means of Controlling Them?", including interviews with V. Shakalov, deputy chairman of the Agro-Industrial Committee; A. Pavlenko, chief of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] State Agro-Industrial Committee administration; and N. Kotenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products; dates and places of interviews not given]

[Text] A pretty good grain harvest has ripened in the Ukraine. The harvesting operation has extended its scope and moved north from the Black Sea and Sea of Azov. But, apparently, one can grow full ears of grain, prepare the equipment properly and... still be sitting there twiddling one's thumbs. Not of one's own volition.

Here is an alarming report from Zaporozhye Oblast. On Friday 23 June only 14 tonnes of petroleum products from state resources were delivered to all farms in Primorskiy Rayon. By the evening of that day reapers, combines, and trucks had come to a standstill. They stood there, tanks empty, all Saturday and Sunday. It was not until Monday lunchtime that 21 tonnes of fuel arrived.

"A grim picture," was oblast Agro-Industrial Committee Deputy Chairman V. Shakalov's comment. "The grain is ripe, but the equipment is standing idle in the lot. People are irritated. Many have lease fields, combines, and trucks and have worked hard. But all their efforts and hopes have foundered on someone's inefficiency and slovenliness. The tense situation did not occur overnight. We have all been hit by hiccups in fuel supplies for a long time now. But things are not changing for the better.

There is a similar situation in Odessa Oblast. On Monday harvesting equipment in Artsizskiy Rayon was left without a drop of fuel and on Tuesday trucks in the Lenin and "Ukraina" Kolkhozes [collective farms] in Savranskiy Rayon and the "Terezino" Kolkhoz in Tarutisnkiy Rayon came to a halt.

What is the reason for this? The PRAVDA UKRAINY editorial office put the question to A. Pavlenko, chief of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic State Agro-Industrial Committee administration for the supply of petroleum products and fuel:

"It all started when the USSR Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply] set gasoline supplies for the very first quarter of this year at 92 percent of last year's consumption level," Anatoliy Andreyevich explained. "Straight away we were more than 100,000 tonnes of fuel short. That is the annual stocks of such oblasts as Ivano-Frankovsk and Zhitomir. For the harvest period the republic was understocked to the tune of 140,000 tonnes of gasoline and 320,000 tonnes of diesel fuel. Now, because of irregular supplies, we are often on 'starvation rations.' We are constantly being let down by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] suppliers, primarily in Tambov, Kuybyshev, and Volgograd Oblasts."

The lubricants situation is also bad. The switch to wholesale trade in this type of petroleum product has led to the disappearance of cheap oils from the range. And one cannot do without them. The republic has virtually no so-called industrial hydraulic oils for transmissions, particularly for high-powered tractors and "Don" combines. Some people have started using diesel oils, but this will cause parts to wear out quickly.

The actual system for supplying farms with petroleum products is antiquated. Some 750 petroleum depots have been erected in 479 Ukrainian rural rayons. This is twice as many as are needed. Rayon agroindustrial supply administrations' petroleum yards have mushroomed around the depots of the State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products. The fuel is pumped from one department's tanks into the other's. Unnecessary transfers lead to further losses. A whole armada—thousands of tankers—is maintained to deliver the fuel. And they burn up thousands of tonnes of fuel per year. A great deal of gasoline is lost during storage. Particularly in the rayon agro-industrial supply administration system.

Scientists at the "Ukrgiproneftetrans" Institute have reached the conclusion that 265 petroleum depots must be closed as soon as possible in order to reduce these losses, leaving only one per rayon. The number of tankers must also be cut by one-half, leaving only heavy transport facilities in operation. But there is no support for the proposal. It suits the republican State Agro-Industrial Committee's supply service to have everything stay as it is. The more depots, the more profit. The existing system of mismanagement provides suppliers with profits of R60 million per year. At the expense of sovkhozes [state farms] and kolkhozes, of course.

One could say and write so much about chronic fuel shortages and idle equipment. Who benefits from a situation where you are spending good money on grain, while your own grain, which is 100 times better, rots in the fields? Is the republic's government incapable of putting things right, calling to account those who are pouring sand into the machinery of restructuring.

Customary managerial sluggishness is largely to blame.

"The republic's State Agro-Industrial Committee made a mistake when it set the time for starting harvest operations," N. Kotenko, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR State Committee for the Supply of Petroleum Products, said. "Back in January this department asked us to reduce the gasoline and diesel fuel quotas for the half-year in order to keep fuel for the harvest period. We sent corresponding requisitions to oil refineries and the railroads administration. But the harvest came much sooner, before the first half-year had even ended. Now emergency measures have to be taken."

So the departments' criminal negligence and lack of coordination is undermining the rural economy and, indeed, the food industry in general. Is there really no means of controlling them?

Scientific

'Gorizont' Communications Satellite Launched 6 Jul

LD0707075189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0730 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow, 7 July (TASS)—In accordance with the program for the development of communications and television relay systems with the use of artificial earth satellites, a regular "Gorizont" communications satellite was launched in the USSR on Thursday [6 July]. It has been put into an almost stationary orbit by a "Proton" carrier-rocket with the following initial parameters: distance from the earth's surface—35,100 km; period of revolution around the earth—23 hours, 21 minutes; orbital inclination—1.5 degrees.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally. The operation of the satellite's communications and television apparatus will be carried out in accordance with a scheduled program.

'Mir' Orbiter Continues Scientific Experiments

LD0707121089 Moscow TASS in English 1114 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Moscow July 7 TASS—By TASS correspondent reporting from the ground control centre:

The orbital research complex Mir in continuing operation in an unmanned mode.

In keeping with an international programme of astrophysical experiments, called Roentgen, ground control conducted about thirty sessions observing the x-ray pulsar in the Vela constellation.

Starting from July 6, the telescopes of the orbital observatory have been directed at an x-ray nova that flared up in the Cygnus constellation.

The objective of the observations is to study the evolution of the temperature and the spectrum of irradiation of this unique celestial body.

Several geophysical experiments are conducted as the station is continuing its unmanned flight, using equipment that registers space radiation and a system that measures currents of micrometeorites in near-earth space.

According to telemetry informaton, the flight of the orbital complex Mir is proceeding normally.

Military

Investigation of Submarine Incident Continues

Recovery Mission, Medical Exams Discussed

18010732 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Jul 89 First Edition p 3

[Interview of naval personnel by Capt 3d Rank P. Ishchenko, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent: "Workdays at a Naval Base"]

[Text] **A special commission headed by Vice Admiral V. Zaytsev, deputy to the Commander in Chief of the Navy for Maintenance and Repairs, is continuing its work in the Northern Fleet on analysis of the causes of the accident on the nuclear submarine commanded by Captain 1st Rank Yu. Kasatkin. Our correspondent Captain 3d Rank P. Ishchenko met with some officials involved with these problems.**

Major General of the Medical Service V. Stroganov, chief of the Medical Service of the Navy:

After the submarine returned to base, a complete medical examination of all of the ship's personnel was performed immediately. The mood of the personnel was normal, and no one had any complaints. Nonetheless, five members of the crew were hospitalized. Four of the hospitalized were suspected of having been exposed to

radiation, and one was hospitalized for a reason not associated with the accident. The examinations showed that they are completely healthy and that there can be no question of radiation sickness.

At the present time, a highly qualified group of physicians is working at the base, including the chief radiologist of the Navy, Colonel of the Medical Service O. Petrov. The doctors are conducting a so-called triage of the personnel, and, very likely, another group of 15 persons will be selected for examination in a special department of the hospital. But this is more as a precaution. The rest of the crewmembers will also undergo medical examinations. All of them will have to stay in the permanent facility. This will also be done as a precaution and for the purpose of dispelling all possible fears that the submariners and their families might have.

Captain 1st Rank A. Zakharov, chief of the Search and Rescue Service of the Navy:

Essentially, the mission of the search and rescue station that was deployed at the naval command post has already been completed. The station played an important role in assessing and determining more exactly what the situation was on board the submarine after the accident, and it "kept an eye" on the situation right up to the time the sub was delivered to the pier. In a word, the need for this has fallen off. But our working group, consisting of representatives of the technical directorate and the chemical and medical services, continues to remain at the Navy command post. Inasmuch as work on the submarine is continuing, a need might arise for the group.

... The loss of the Komsomolets, the collision of the oil ship Maksim Gorkiy, and now this accident. The rescuers have gotten too much work... We have been alerted rather frequently in recent months. And this is a bad sign. Incidentally, I would like to express my agreement with the author of a recent article "Departmental Dictate" in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA—in that part where reference is made to a ship's equipment that is not always of a high quality. In the years of stagnation, there were frequent cases when a ship was fully accepted from industry, but the elimination of incompleteness was taken care of in the process of operation. But this work was not always done in a qualitative way.

Sub Officer on Radiation Checks

LD0607173189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Jul 89

[Interview with Rear Admiral Anatoliy Ivanovich Shevchenko by correspondent Valeriy Anuchin; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction—recorded]

[Text] We have already reported the return to base of the nuclear submarine of the Northern Red Banner Fleet, which suffered an accident while it was sailing in an area south of Bear Island. Today, our correspondent Valeriy Anuchin spent some time on the submarine and had a conversation with the squadron commander, Rear Admiral Anatoliy Ivanovich Shevchenko. Listen to the recording of their conversation.

[Begin recording] [Anuchin] Anatoliy Ivanovich, the commission has finished its work. What were its results?

[Shevchenko] The commission found that the personnel correctly carried out the full technological sequence of operations for preventing the development of such a situation as that which took shape; their actions were correct and competent, beginning with the commander and ending with the ordinary sailor.

[Anuchin] But what was the reason? Why did this happen?

[Shevchenko] It is essential that additional investigations of the lower, uninhabited chambers are carried out, and also of the submarine itself after the cooling of the installations as to determine the place of the leak in the primary circuit.

[Anuchin] Could one of the reasons be that the submarine is over 20 years old, particularly as it is not a surface vessel?

[Shevchenko] This accident cannot be described as standard. It is the first time there has been an accident in our Navy. Yes, the submarine is 25 years old, but before every expedition we carry out the appropriate tests of all systems serving the reactor. In our Navy there are ships which have already gone past this limit, and so it is necessary to make additional studies of this question and determine how long these ships can be used, or have their operations halted.

[Anuchin] Some of the crew, on returning to base, were taken to the hospital.

[Shevchenko] That was for a routine check-up on people who had been away at sea for a long time, where they were subject to physical, moral, and psychological pressure. The last leg of their trip was also unusual. Additional check-ups were needed in order to find out if any of them had been exposed, so to speak, to an abnormal level of radiation. All our fears were laid to rest. Literally a few days later none of the crew showed any signs of being irradiated.

[Anuchin] I would think the submarine undergoes some kind of daily radiation checks to see if any discharges into the atmosphere.

[Shevchenko] We have outlined the area of stringent monitoring: the vessel and the berth area. We have not a single breach of the acceptable sanitary norms as far as any of the radiation factors are concerned.

The vessel is about 15 km away from our residential settlement, and that is why, prior to airing the compartments for possible gas emissions, we place our monitoring post 500 meters away from the submarine. This post is equipped with apparatus and instruments, and when we made our measurements following the first airing, their results were shown to the chief Navy radiologist. He acquainted himself with these results, examined them and inferred that the situation was absolutely favorable and posed no danger, not only to the residents of the settlement, but even to the people standing in the berth area of the vessel. [end recording]

Arms Procurement Procedures Questioned

18010728 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
28 Jun 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by A. Gorokhov: "Dangerous Depths"]

[Text] The loss of the nuclear-powered submarine "Komsomolets" and most of its crew in the Sea of Norway was still hurting, when a message came from the area of the same Bear Island: another accident, and once again it involved a nuclear-powered submarine with conventional and nuclear weapons on board.

Again the hearts of parents, wives, and children jumped, and the telephones in editorial offices rang off the hook. What can we say in consolation? What do we know at all about accidents in the Soviet submarine fleet?

Indeed, there are data in my personal archives on a 1961 incident in the Baltic Sea, on a 1972 fire on the submarine returning from an independent cruise, and an emergency in the Sea of Japan in September 1984. Quite recently, in October 1986, we lost in the Atlantic a submarine with ballistic missiles on board.

However, so much for the archive. Scant lines from various newspapers. People want to know more. Who is going to tell them? Having received the official report, we called Chief of the Main Naval Staff Admiral K. Makarov. In keeping with the old rule to say nothing to the press without a command from on high, the admiral categorically refused to comment.

About 4 years ago, at a remote garrison of our strategic missile forces, I unwillingly witnessed a large group of civilians (at any rate, dressed in civilian clothes) leaving early in the morning in a large bus from the hotel to firing positions. It turned out these were industry employees who were making some kinds of adjustments on what we would call product "X."

"Heretical" questions could immediately come to the mind of even a layman not too privy to the intricacies of operation of our military-industrial complex. For example, how could a missile in need of some adjustments happen to be on alert duty? What kind-hearted person (could it be Leonid Ilyich?), trusting the chief designer or his highly placed sponsor, authorized the acceptance of the "premature" product for service, and thus yet another handing out of grandiose monetary bonuses, awards, and honorary titles? What kind of the "overly kind" Ministry of Defense did we have which yet again had obediently written off some more billions of rubles off its account, content with what was given rather than what was required for the efficient (qualitative rather than quantitative) defense of the Motherland?

How are we going to spend the 32.6 billion rubles which are allocated this year for the procurement of armament and materiel? Will we pay for what is truly necessary for the sufficient defense of the country, or will we give the shirt off our backs, but at the same time skillfully eliminate the consequences of yet another accident?.. How do the client and the producer of military technology interact? Is everything in order here? If nothing else, the alarming count of emergencies at oceans and seas make one wonder.

Should we not take our submarines to the docks, inspect them comprehensively, and take a close look at signatures on the forms, so as to finally figure out: Who personally accepted for service the materiel fraught from the very beginning not with the danger of starting a war, but rather the danger to the safety of both the crews and extensive areas of independent cruises?

Certainly, it is not the business of the press to teach the troops combat training and combat applications. This is not a matter for us. However, the fate of people who have entrusted themselves to regulations, who have assumed the very difficult responsibilities of defenders of the Motherland, their concerns and joys are such a matter, whichever way you look at it.

Can you recall the tone of extensively publicized comments by the Northern Fleet command on the course of rescue operations at the Komsomolets? Really, one got the impression that in the Sea of Norway yet another major victory has been won by Russian arms.

The well-trained voice of the commander has not been an argument anymore for a long time—on occasion, ideas may have been few and far between in the unpretentious text, but the words were firm and energetic, even in high forums or from the TV screen.

Why do the reactor compartments of nuclear-powered submarines fail? Alas, they do not talk about this. This is, perhaps, what they have in mind when they promise a radical turnaround which is, supposedly, in store. The problem is, where and when?

To be sure, it is possible to "assign" to the press only the role of a "chronicler" of the Armed Forces, the same as before, under the conditions of proclaimed transition to qualitative characteristics exclusively in the course of defense development. It is also possible to regard any criticism of this or that leader as an attack on the Armed Forces, as undermining their authority. Quite the opposite, the prestige of the Armed Forces will only become

greater if some leading Army comrades stop considering themselves the guardians of the ultimate truth.

I understand that the leadership of the Soviet Navy is far removed from the concerns of mass media. They have enough of their own concerns. However, the Navy Political Administration could at the very least take interest once a year: What are the military seamen writing to PRAVDA about? Without going into detail, I will say: There is a lot of mail, and, most importantly, it is sensible.

In the remote year 1918, V.I. Lenin asked himself the question: "Are we persecuting cowardly military leaders and gawks? Have we cast slurs before Russia on regiments good for nothing? Have we 'caught' a sufficient number of bad examples which should be removed from the Army for being unfit, careless, slow, and so forth with the greatest publicity?" He responded to his own question: "There is no businesslike, merciless, truly revolutionary WAR ON SPECIFIC PERPETRATORS of evil."

It is not my style to overuse quotations. However, the classics will always remain what they are indeed. The quotation may be old, but there is not a word in it that does not hit "the bull's eye."

NOVOSTI Extols New Soviet SU-27 Fighter

AU3006153389 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 28 Jun 89 p 4

[NOVOSTI article 'especially' for ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI by Yevgeniy Smirnov: "The New Soviet SU-27 Fighter"]

[Text] Today, one can hear from many Soviet pilots positive opinions about the new SU-27 fighter. Masters of advanced flying are even in love with it. Some even go as far as to say that they take the strain of flying this aircraft better than when flying other aircraft.

Why have pilots fallen in love with the new SU model? Perhaps mainly because, with all its high combat values, the SU-27 is simple to fly and unbeatable in performance.

The Anglo-American publication "Jane's" describes the SU-27 as the equivalent of the F-15 fighter. Of course, this is flattery, for although the F-15 really does have high combat qualities, the SU-27 is considerably "younger." Therefore, more recent achievements of science and technology were applied to its construction. In any case, the SU-27 (or rather, a special version of it designated by the number P-42), has deprived the American F-15 of five world records for the fastest climb to altitudes of 3, 6, 12, and 15 km.

Simply saying that the SU-27 has "established world records" means next to nothing. However, when one compares the two aircraft's performances, the difference becomes clear. The F-15 took 77 seconds to reach an altitude of 15 km, but the P-42 took only 70.3 seconds. In an aerial fight, 7 seconds are an eternity.

The very fact that the new Soviet fighter stole five world records illustrates its speed capabilities.

Another of the SU-27's major achievements is its long range, which enables it to be used for long aerial patrols far from base. In this respect, the SU-27 has no equal anywhere in the world.

Nevertheless, in the opinion of fighter pilots, the SU-27's most valuable characteristic is its maneuverability, thanks to certain aerodynamic features and special equipment. Basically, the new Soviet fighter is no more maneuverable than the nimblest fighters of World War II, but its speed is what makes it one of today's best combat machines.

The SU-27's performance is best illustrated by the following figures. It performs a sharp turn at a moderate altitude in 13-14 seconds. During a wingover, it only loses 500 meters in altitude, extremely important in aerial combat, especially when getting out of the line of fire.

Of the other qualities pointed out by military pilots, one should mention the following: An efficient electronic remote-controlled steering system, with quadruple backup in case of failure; an exceptionally high drag factor per unit of weight, which enables the aircraft to perform advanced aerobatic maneuvers, including the loop and one and one-half loop at high and low speeds; and the possibility to mount large quantities of various weapons on external fixtures, of which there are 10.

Finally, the aircraft's incontestability. The SU-27 is made of the latest highly durable and light materials invented in the USSR recently, and the latest discoveries in the field of aerodynamics have been applied. In fact, a combat machine has been built which is unbeatable in every situation, from take-off to landing.

While on the subject of landing, the SU-27 makes soft landings thanks to the aerodynamic qualities of the wing, which create a cushion of air, as it were.

The aircraft is equipped with a device that prevents it from approaching extreme situations. This device prevents the pilot from exceeding the maximum permissible angle of flight, and prevents stalls, and especially corkscrew spins. It also stops the pilot from pulling the joystick too far against his body and involuntarily subjecting the aircraft to impermissible high strain, during which he could lose consciousness. All this is important in aerial combats, when a situation can change rapidly and a pilot can exceed safety limits.

At the 38th International Air and Space Show in Le Bourget, the SU-27 will carry out a series of aerobatic maneuvers, including a figure eight (immediately after take-off), a "bell," low-speed rolls, and steep turns at 9 G. This will enable visitors to the air show to see the extraordinary maneuvering characteristics of the SU-27.